BIBLIOTHECA MISSIONVM

38a

SOCIETATIS
VERBI DIVINI
TECHNY, ILL.

CHINA TO-DAY THROUGH CHINESE EYES

CHINA TO-DAY

through Chinese Eyes

SECOND SERIES

BY

T. C. CHAO
P. C. HSU
T. Z. KOO
T. T. LEW
M. T. TCHOU
F. C. M. WEI
D. Z. T. YUI

WITHDRAWN

LONDON
STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
32 RUSSELL SQUARE, W.C. I
1926

23,502

First published, October 1926

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
THE EDINBURGH PRESS, 9 AND 11 YOUNG STREET, EDINBURGH

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In November 1922 we published a volume under the title of *China To-day through Chinese Eyes* containing chapters by four of the leaders of the younger generation of present-day China, dealing with the intellectual, religious and economic forces moulding Chinese life and thought.

We felt sure there would be a wide welcome for a statement of the Chinese point of view. As we expected, the book was warmly received and widely circulated both here and in America. We are therefore encouraged to issue a sequel with the same purpose, bringing the story up-to-date and treating some fresh aspects of the situation. The list of writers is a striking one as the list of contents shows. We would express our gratitude to them for their co-operation.

We issue this book in the hope that it will promote sympathetic understanding and closer friendship between the leaders of the great land of China and ourselves in the West. It may serve also as a much needed antidote to much ill-informed speaking and newspaper writing on Chinese topics.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/chinatodaythroug0000tcch

CONTENTS

CHAP. PAGE

I. The Present Political Outlook in China 1

David Z. T. Yui, M.A. (Harvard), D.Litt. (St John's University, Shanghai), General Secretary of the National Committee of Y.M.C.A.s in China, Chairman of the National Christian Council of China, People's Representative at the Washington Conference, etc.

II. The Present-Day Industrial Situation and the Labour Movement 10

M. Thomas Tchou, M.A. (Glasgow), Industrial Secretary of the National Committee of Y.M.C.A.s in China.

III. Intellectual Movements . . 22

P. C. Hsu, M.A. (Columbia University), Professor of Philosophy, Yen Ching University, sometime Student Secretary of the Peking Y.M.C.A.

IV. Present-Day Religious Thought and Life in China . . . 33

T. C. Chao, M.A. (Vanderbilt University), Professor in Yen Ching University, President of National Christian Literature Association, sometime Dean of Soochow University.

CHAP. PAGE

V. The New Culture Movement and Christian Education in China 50
Timothy Tingfang Lew, M.A., Ph.D. (Columbia University), B.D. (Yale), Dean of Theology, Yen Ching University, Peking, President of the Association for Christian Higher Education, Editor in Chief, *The Life* and *Truth*.

VI. Synthesis of Cultures of East and West 74
Francis C. M. Wei, M.A. (Boone University), Vice-President, Boone University, Wuchang.

VII. Educational Conditions and Student Life in China To-day . 86
T. Z. Koo, M.A. (St John's University, Shanghai), Assistant Secretary and Executive Secretary, Student Department of the National Committee of Y.M.C.A.s in China, People's Representative at the Opium Conference in Geneva, sometime Travelling Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation.

VIII. The Spiritual Life of Students in Christian Colleges . . . 106
T. Z. Koo.

IX. Intellectual Leadership and Citizenship Training . . . 121
T. C. Chao.

X. The Needs of the Christian Movement in China . . . 140
D. Z. T. Yui.

CHINA TO-DAY THROUGH CHINESE EYES

I. THE PRESENT POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN CHINA

David Z. T. Yui

Political phenomena in China to-day are appearing in such a kaleidoscopic fashion that it is exceedingly difficult for us to comprehend their real significance and understand their relationship. We propose, therefore, not to treat the phenomena as such but to try to get at the powerful forces or influences behind them; and, then, from that vantage ground, to gain a clear vision of the present political outlook.

In the first place, we wish to point out that militarism in China, which was at one time all-powerful, is now sinking down by its own weight. Many militarists are men who have no love for their country and who have been doing everything to enrich themselves and to extend their influence. What is the result? Not a few of them, one by one, have fallen in disgrace and ruin in rapid succession before our eyes. It is true new militarists have already arisen to take their places, but they do not begin to exert the same influence.

There are a few militarists who seemingly are patriotic but who are wrong in their conviction that China can be unified by force. Unfortunately for them and for China, their repeated attempts have been abortive and have proved harmful to the country. These failures inevitably weaken and discredit militarism in the country, and give us hope that better days are immediately ahead of us.

In the second place, it is positively incorrect for us to say that China is divided, for her people are not. On the other hand, we do admit the fact that the militarists and the politicians in China are not only divided but also at one another's throats. Are not the people as a whole far more important than a very small number of militarists and politicians? Centuries ago, Mencius most clearly enunciated the principle: "The people are of great value and the sovereign of slight value." As long as the Chinese people are united, can we not honestly say that China is a united nation?

This important point will enable us to see that, after all, the political situation in China is not as hopeless as we imagine. Would not the present confusion and danger be much enhanced if the Chinese people were as sharply divided and bitterly opposed to one another as the militarists and the politicians? Fortunately, they are not. On the other hand, they are essentially a homogeneous people and their spirit of unity is steadily growing in strength, and is in full evidence in

various national conferences and movements, commercial, educational, industrial, political, religious and student. The programme before us is so further to strengthen this unity that at an early date the people will assert themselves by compelling these military and political factions to capitulate completely and to offer their best contributions on our national altar for the welfare of the entire nation.

In the third place, by national unity, we do not mean centralisation of authority in one dictator in Peking or Canton or any other place in China. Such centralisation failed even during the monarchical days. There are two ways to make centralisation a reality: either by keeping the people in ignorance and inculcating in them some superstitious belief in the divine right of an emperor or a dictator, or by evolving a leader of most extraordinary personality who will be accepted throughout the whole country. In China to-day, the former method is antiquated and impossible, and there is plainly no one leader acceptable to the whole country. It is futile, foolish and extravagant for us to hope to achieve our national unity by centralisation under the present conditions.

On the other hand, the political tendency in China to-day is clearly to decentralise by giving back to the provinces the rights and responsibilities which are their due, and to the districts such rights and responsibilities as properly belong to them, while the central government will retain

only those which cannot be adequately handled by any one provincial government or even a combination of several of them. Instead of looking to any one man for the supply of national leadership we should select our leaders and organise them in a group. The faith of the whole country in Provincial Autonomy and a Federal Government as a solution of its political problem is steadily gaining in strength.

In the fourth place, some people are still asking, "Are the Chinese people ready for Democracy?" What people in this world are truly ready for Democracy? It is important to state definitely that the Chinese people have permanently done away with the monarchical form of government and are earnestly experimenting with the Republican form. Oftentimes, we are dissatisfied with the slow progress we are making, and with the results which we have thus far attained. But this does not in any way lessen our determination to continue the experiment until we have succeeded.

Public opinion is an essential force in the growth of democracy. The growth of public opinion in China since the establishment of the Republic has had a most wonderful record. In all the different political movements and military operations of the past decade, without exception, that side has succeeded which has had the approval and support of public opinion, however weak its strength and disadvantageous its position; whereas the side which has not had such approval

and support, despite its money, position, and superior force, has lost and been crushed. The single voice of General Tsai-Au in distant Yunnan, which was immediately reinforced by public opinion, turned Yuan Shih-kai's "monarchical dream" into a fatal nightmare. The several civil wars after that event more than amply illustrated the efficacy and power of public opinion in China.

We frankly admit that as yet public opinion in China does not show the strength it ought to have. Nevertheless, by means of popular education, the percentage of literacy is steadily rising; through citizenship-training our people are beginning to realise their own rights and responsibilities; by suffering tremendously from the hands of militarists and politicians for these many years, our people's patience is nearing the exhaustion-point and their desire for peace, order, and unity is gradually expressing itself in no uncertain terms; and, by the successes which public opinion has so far achieved, our people are gaining a distinct consciousness of their own power in the political life of our nation. Indeed, the ascendancy gained by public opinion in China now is a conclusive evidence of the real progress of our Republic. More than that, as its strength increases, the foundation of our Democracy will be made all the more secure.

In the fifth place, parallel to the wonderful growth of public opinion, we should call attention to that of nationalism in China. It seems only

yesterday that we heard the denunciation of the Chinese people as lacking in patriotism or national spirit. What do we hear to-day? The same people are being charged as being too nationalistic or too narrowly patriotic. They are indeed in a dilemma; they are criticised for both expressing and not expressing their patriotic sentiments. What should the Chinese people do?

We wish emphatically to point out that both charges are without sufficient grounds of justification. China's long history as the most highly-civilised nation in the world and her comparative freedom from the harrowing experiences of the close and intense international struggles among the European nations naturally did not develop in her people the kind of patriotic feeling which has been developed in the West. What is the difference? Are we not right when we say that the patriotic sentiment of the Chinese people is more for their family and for the highest ideals and achievements of their race, and that in a self-complacent way, while that of the people of the West is more for their respective governments, and that in an aggressive manner, which is a natural result of mutual exploitation and oppression? It is, therefore, more true to the facts to say that the Chinese patriotic feeling is different from that of the Western peoples and it has by no means been absent.

For the past century or more, the same intense international and inter-racial struggle which at once developed and devastated Europe has un-

fortunately been finding its way to the Far East. Because of this, Chinese patriotic feeling has been gradually taking on a new complexion. We can hardly criticise the Chinese people as being too nationalistic or narrowly patriotic when they try to resist the inroads of foreign influences, the imperialistic designs of the foreign Powers, and the inequalities imposed on China by sheer force. If we could lay this charge against the defendant—China—what should we say about the offenders—the foreign Powers? Anyhow, the growth of nationalism in China to-day is a *fait accompli*, and is already a powerful factor in the political development of our country. The question is: "Should it be broad or narrow?"

China and the foreign Powers concerned will have to answer this question together, and it is fully within their power to decide. Will the peoples of the West themselves from now on develop a patriotism on a broad basis? Will they assume a generous and sincerely friendly attitude towards China? If they do, their influence here will be both healthy and profound. Will they substitute co-operation for exploitation, friendliness for hate, justice for force, sincerity for diplomacy? Will they try to cultivate international and interracial understanding and goodwill? If they do, there needs to be no anxiety about the growth of nationalism in China on a broad basis. The Chinese people as a whole, being broad-minded by tradition and habit, will do their part.

In the last place, is it not true, in China as well as in other countries, that the love and misuse of money, position, and force is the root of all evil? The "checking-system" in other countries is perhaps in better working order, and hence we see comparatively less evidences of graft and oppression. On the other hand, during the past decade, the old Chinese moral code has been broken down—to say nothing about any "checking-system"—and no new code has yet been established. The result is what we see happening to-day.

Fortunately, our bitter experiences have caused, on the part not only of the people in general, but also not a few of the militarists and the politicians, a faint but distinct realisation of the undependableness of money, position, and force. What a healthy change this is! Yes, these things, if we abuse them, become fire which often is strong enough to burn, or water which not infrequently is weak enough to drown. How different from a superstitious belief in these things as being almighty and the consequent headlong rush to possess them!

This realisation is still rather weak. An earnest effort should be made to convince the militarists and the politicians that, for their selfish ends, even money, position and force will be of no avail. True, many of them do achieve temporary successes, but such successes simply lead them to a more steep precipice from which to fall, never to rise again. After all, is not our attitude

towards money, position, and force a sure test of our lives? Will not the present realisation of the undependableness of money, position, and force exert a strong influence upon our attitude towards life? Will not the attitude of the militarists and the politicians towards life in turn affect the political life of our country? Indeed, we should lay stress on the undependableness of money, position, and force; and, more than that, we should point out that these things, if consecrated, can be used to accomplish great good for China and for the world. We shall gain new hope from the realisation of the undependableness of these things; and new strength from their consecration to the service of mankind.

In conclusion, we wish to add that, while sounding a most optimistic note which is fully supported by facts, we are not blind to the exceedingly great difficulties. Among these, we may mention the selfishness of the militarists and the politicians; the inertia of the people in general; pressure and veiled intervention on the part of the foreign Powers, and the urgency from the standpoint of time. Despite these things, we are really making greater progress in every way than we can possibly realise. With so many excellent qualities in the character of the Chinese people, and their rapid awakening and acceptance of greater responsibilities for their national welfare than ever before, we are confident that a new China is already steadily unfolding herself before us.

II. PRESENT-DAY INDUSTRIAL SITUATION AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

M. Thomas Tchou

China finds herself to-day at the beginning of a gigantic transformation in her economic life. The introduction of modern methods in business and industry has begun to make changes unknown and undreamed of in the past forty centuries.

Owing to the neglect of science and, therefore, the lack of mechanical tools for the exploitation of her vast resources, China, with one-quarter of the population of the world, is now one of the poorest countries, having wealth only equal to one-sixteenth of that of the United States of America, whose population is approximately one-fifteenth of that of the world.

Through the introduction of modern machinery and the application of mechanical sciences in China, however, an industrial revolution on a large scale has now begun to take place. In the so-called treaty ports and other cities favoured with the facilities of modern communications, numerous modern and semi-modern factories have sprung up and prospects are that, as conditions become more favourable, there will be a general spread of modern industry throughout the country. While, compared with the industries

that are yet to come, the present ones are quite insignificant, there are, nevertheless, evidences of some large industries to-day. Among the existing two or three thousand modern factories may be mentioned the following principal types: cotton-spinning and weaving mills, silk filatures, flour mills, cigarette factories, engineering plants of many kinds, printing presses, cement factories, paper mills, glass factories, match factories, oil and bean cake factories, tanneries and soap factories. In addition to these the mining industries are also making steady headway.

Judged by present tendencies, modern industry in China not only has come to stay, but it bids fair to grow at such a rate as to displace a considerable proportion of handicraft industries. For example, wherever cotton-mills have been established, the old method of spinning is being rapidly displaced. The coming of the railroad and the steamship has also invariably driven away many of those who were engaged in the old ways of transportation. As a result, an increasing number of people who were engaged in older industries are now obliged either to change their callings or to enrol themselves into the new industries that have made it necessary for them to undergo this change. This has given rise to a new type of economic life, which is an innovation of a most comprehensive nature. For not only has power production changed the methods of manufacture, but it has also instituted mass production, involving the minute division of

labour. Both factors tend to deprive the once independent workers of their former economic self-dependence as well as the joy of craftsmanship, which made industry in the old days not nearly so mechanical to the workers as it often is to-day.

The new working conditions, with regular shifts in company with power-driven machinery, present a great contrast to the slack and generally free conditions of labour under the old handicraft system. The employment of large numbers of workers in modern factories has resulted in the separation of these people from the management with a result that the former intimate contact between " master " and " men " is now no longer possible. Under the new system not only has competition for employment become keener between men, but other groups hitherto only sparsely employed in industry have also been brought into the field of competition. Women, who were once mainly confined to the homes, have been found suitable as operatives in a number of modern industries, and, being willing as a rule to accept lower wages, they are employed in large numbers instead of men. In a similar manner, it has been found that it would be even cheaper to employ children instead of adults. So to-day we have several leading industries in which large numbers of children, ranging from six to fourteen years of age, are employed.

Another innovation of the modern industrial system is the institution of night-shifts, which

engage women and children, as well as men, in steady employment. Modern industry, too, has brought in new hazards and risks unknown in the old days. Since most of the workers have little knowledge of the mechanical arts or of the promotion of safety, many accidents leading to tragic ends have taken place. Last November 27, for instance, a thirteen-year-old girl was killed at Shanghai Cotton Mill, Yangtszepoo, shortly after two o'clock in the morning. According to the account given by a Japanese foreman, the girl had gone to sleep under the spinning-frame and while asleep her hair was caught in the machinery. Her head was crushed and her dead body was found under the machine. Five days thereafter another fatal accident took place in a local mill at 4.10 A.M. In this case, a man twenty-four years of age slipped from a platform and became entangled in a revolving belting below and was killed. Accidents of this nature take place in modern industrial plants of all kinds. Besides this, large fatalities have often occurred in mining industries. While most civilised countries take a pride in the increasing attention they give to the protection of industrial workers, to our regret there is no effective industrial legislation in China to-day. So there is no obligation to enforce a minimum provision for the safety of the workers while at work; and after accidents have taken place, there is no obligation for compensation. In March, 1923, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce promulgated twenty-

eight articles governing conditions of employment, but owing to the lack of public support and to the fact that foreign industries in China do not recognise the validity of Chinese law, as well as to the impotence of the Central Government, these extremely moderate regulations for the protection of the workers have not been enforced. Many employers in Shanghai were in favour of the adoption of the report of the Child Labour Commission last year, but it was not adopted, partly because the foreign ratepayers, whose consent was necessary, failed to show sufficient interest so as to obtain a quorum at two successive ratepayers' meetings, and partly because of the lack of the support of the Chinese community, on the ground that the foreign Municipal Council in Shanghai had no right to make regulations governing the employment of Chinese.

Of equal if not greater importance is the fact that the coming of modern industry in China has given rise to a momentous change in the living or social conditions of the workers and their families. Wherever modern factories have sprung up, multitudes of labourers have been attracted to their neighbourhood. The lack of adequate provision for their housing and social needs has resulted in one of the gravest consequences in society to-day. The rapid rise of the cost of living and of land value during recent years is responsible largely for the coming into existence of new, over-crowded, insanitary, and dehumanising slums. In Shanghai alone there are probably

no less than 300,000 people who inhabit such quarters. Only a visit to these centres can make one realise what modern industry, among other things, may produce in China.

At the same time the effect of modern industrial development on the propertied classes must not be overlooked. The separation of capital and labour, which is now progressing rapidly, has simultaneously resulted in the creation of a capitalistic class. While some members of this class are not unmindful of the conditions among the masses, and while some of them show great interest in the betterment of conditions, most of them, having little or no contact with the workers, are quite indifferent. The standard of comfort among the rich has been raised considerably, and in some cases old, extravagant habits have been aggravated by the temptation and the facility to procure modern luxuries. It is true many industries have failed during recent years and some shareholders have sustained crushing losses, but in every case the workers have at least suffered an equal loss because of the loss or change of employment, which often involves other economic losses.

On the one hand, the workers have lost contact with the employers. On the other hand, large numbers of them have been thrown together through the sheer necessity of the modern means of production. They have, as a result, become class-conscious and aware of the advantages and the disadvantages under which they now find

themselves. Collective action, which was comparatively difficult and unnecessary under the handicraft system, is rendered much easier in the modern factory. Further, wherever modern industry has obtained a footing, modern education, thought, and ideas have likewise been developed. This, together with the increasing contact with external forces, has destroyed the time-honoured intellectual and social stability for which China's ancient civilisation is noted. Moreover, labour and radical movements abroad have found their echoes in their midst. In consequence, the workers have gradually lost their former contentment and have begun to look for the betterment of their conditions. Hence the present labour movement in China.

This movement is of very recent origin, having sprung up in South China only five or six years ago. But during these few years it has found considerable, though spasmodic, response in other parts of the country. Labour unions have had a checkered history of constant rise and fall, but their number has nevertheless steadily increased, until to-day there are probably between 800 and 1000 unions in the whole country with a membership of probably three-quarters of a million. Since no accurate registration is available, these figures should be accepted with reserve.

Wherever labour unions have sprung up, there have been considerable industrial unrest and strikes. The first serious trial of strength between Capital and Labour took place in Hong-Kong,

April 1920, when over 5000 workers struck for higher wages, resulting in their success. Another historical strike was the Seamen's, early in 1922, the outcome of which was a victory for the seamen which has had far-reaching effect in the strengthening of the movement. The most memorable contest, however, is the strike in foreign industries last summer in Shanghai, as a sequel to the May 30 incident. Besides those mentioned above, hundreds of strikes have taken place during the last few years. During 1925 alone it is estimated that approximately 375,000,000 working hours have been lost in China. Whether the unions are well organised, or whether the labour movement is sound or otherwise, it is quite clear that, like modern industry, the labour movement has come to stay and that it will have to be reckoned with, more and more, in future in the social and economic reconstruction of China.

The majority of the strikes have been related to demands for higher wages and sometimes for shorter hours; but another type which should not be overlooked is the strike demanding better or more humane treatment. The labour movement, though loosely constituted, is also interested in political issues. It has taken an active part in the so-called anti-imperialistic or nationalistic campaign. It favours the Canton Government, for which it has been charged with being radical and Bolshevistic. The authorities, with the exception of the members of the Canton adminis-

tration, or the Kuomingtang, have on various occasions adopted severe repressive measures, as a result of which a number of workers have lost their lives. From these facts it may readily be seen that very serious complications already beset the development of China's labour movement. The question should be asked: What should be the attitude of the community towards these problems? What should be the attitude of social service organisations? They, too, have to come to a decision as to the policy of dealing with labour organisations. In brief the question may be asked: Should this policy be one of pure reaction and repression or one of *laissez faire*, or should it be one of enlightenment and progressive reform?

There is some difference among the labour organisations as to their objectives. In general they may be classified into two groups: Those that are content to seek for betterment under the existing order and those that are revolutionary in spirit and prefer to establish a new order. The latter type is now gaining preponderance, although outwardly little expression is discernible and it is politically allied with the Left Wing of the Kuomingtang. Unless society can win the masses to a programme of evolutionary reform, it will not be surprising to see the radical elements steadily gaining strength, until a serious situation is thereby created for the rest of the community.

The labour movement is not only imperfect, but it has some very serious drawbacks and defects.

Firstly, it lacks statesmanlike leadership. With the exception of a few unions like the Seamen's Union, most of the leaders have come from the student class. Those leaders, though enthusiastic, know little of the inner problems of the working people and have practically no experience in organisation. Not a few of them are interested in labour activities primarily because thereby they hope to achieve their own ends. In a number of cases the workers have been exploited by their own leaders. This invariably results in a weakened and disunited movement.

Secondly, the prevalent illiteracy and ignorance among the working people make a democratically constituted movement impossible. Herein lie both the weakness of the labour movement and the danger of radical propaganda.

Thirdly, the lack of harmony and unity in the movement has already done considerable damage to its development.

Fourthly, the movement is mainly interested in propaganda and little attention has been given to the betterment of conditions among its constituency.

Many other points may be mentioned, but from those above alone it may be seen that many knotty problems have to be solved before the movement is prepared to undertake the serious responsibilities it now claims.

There has been a great deal of publicity regarding the alleged influence of Bolshevistic Russia on the labour movement in China. This is partly

due to the association of this movement with the Canton Government, which has close contact with Soviet officials, but in the main the labour movement in China is a Chinese movement. How long it will remain purely such a movement will to a certain extent depend upon the attitude and action of other classes, as well as the authorities.

What is needed in society is a constructive and aggressive social policy and programme. In dealing with industrial and labour problems, as with other problems, the scientific attitude is needed. Repression and indifference by themselves cannot improve matters. We should find out where the social ills are and strive to remove them with sympathy, patience, and strenuous labour. May we give some consideration to a practical programme including some features as follows :

(1) A plan for the remodelling of the living conditions of the working masses, including the erection of " model communities " for demonstration.

(2) The effective promotion of universal education, supplementary education, and " workers' education."

(3) The abolition of extreme poverty (*a*) by reducing waste, (*b*) by paying the highest possible wages industries can allow, and (*c*) by a more equitable sharing of the surplus of production.

(4) The creation and maintenance of co-operative spirit and life in industry and society through

the promotion of (*a*) economic co-operation, (*b*) public welfare, and (*c*) the social protection of the working people.

(5) The promotion of industrial legislation for the protection of the life, health and happiness of the workers, and the moulding of public opinion to this end.

(6) The promotion of industrial democracy and the guiding and preparing of the working masses to enjoy self-expression and self-realisation.

Probably some will think such a programme, when compared with certain doctrines, too idealistic and impracticable, while others may feel it is too conservative. We are, however, not so much concerned with doctrines as we are with the necessity of doing some real service to the under-privileged three-quarters of the nation. No matter what form of government may come into power and no matter who will rule, if China is to be raised to the plane where she ought to be, these tasks must be accomplished.

III. INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS

P. C. Hsu

Modern empirical logic has taught us that thought, if divorced from life, is devoid of content, and therefore ceases to be thought Professor Dewey, in his *How we Think*, describes thought as beginning and ending with action. Reflective thinking, according to him, begins when our action is arrested on account of difficulties and obstacles, and action is resumed as soon as we have removed such difficulties through reflective thinking. True thinking is, therefore, inseparably related to action, and to divorce the two would certainly lead to harmful consequences. For this reason, in surveying the recent intellectual movements in China, it is necessary to enter into those historical reasons which contributed to bring them about.

Perhaps the most outstanding of such movements are the Chinese Renaissance, the Literary Revolution and the rising tide of nationalism. The Chinese Renaissance has been given various interpretations : sometimes spoken of as a critical attitude, and sometimes as a craving for certain aspects of western civilisation. It has been well described as a movement for science and democracy. Here science is primarily to be understood

as an attitude towards facts, and a method in dealing with facts. Democracy too is not necessarily institutional. It is rather an ideal or faith, which makes democratic institutions possible. It is an ideal regarding the social order, and a faith in the possibility and worth of human personality. The Literary Revolution is one from the classical style (*Wen-li*) to the spoken style (*Pei-hua*) as a means of expression. The Nationalistic Movement aspires to make China a really independent and free nation.

The causes that brought about these movements are many, but they may all be traced back to one common cause, namely, the contact between China and the Western powers. For centuries she had been the undisputed queen of the East. She enjoyed a self-complacement and self-sufficient life, and all the surrounding nations with few exceptions paid tribute to her. But about a century ago she was brought into contact with the European nations, when they came to seek trade. China was soon led into conflict with these nations. From them she received a series of defeats, which resulted in territorial and other forms of losses to her. This startled her from her long slumbering, and very soon she began to imitate the very foreigners whom she used to look down upon. This process of imitation, which began in the field of methods of warfare, culminated in the political revolution of 1911. Disillusion, however, soon set in, for the Revolution did not prove to be the panacea for all

China's ills. A special class called the militarists soon sprang into existence, who have sucked even to this day the vitality of the nation, much as insects prey on plant life. The poverty and the suffering caused by a combination of circumstances, both external and internal—oppressive indemnities imposed on China by treaties, loss of tariff autonomy and of other sovereign rights through concessions and extralities, and on top of these, misrule under the militarists, internal strife and dissension, and banditry—is simply incredible.

In face of these difficulties, China, in spite of her splendid heritage, did not seem to be able to cope with the situation. The Confucian ethic, which used to be the mainspring of Chinese life, was found wanting, and it increasingly became a target of attack. Moreover, the solidarity of the Chinese family, which was the stronghold of Confucianism, was rapidly disintegrating, in face of the invasion of modern capitalism and individualism.

Such a situation was indeed without precedent, and, if there was any vitality left in the life of the nation, it would certainly tend to produce some important intellectual movements. The first movement thus inspired was known as the Chinese Renaissance. If salvation was not to be had through her own past, nor through the superficial imitation of the West, then whither must China turn? This question the Renaissance undertook to answer, and the answer was:

She must search deeper into the civilisation which had caused her so much humility and suffering. In other words, she must try to get hold of the secret which had made the West what it was. This secret was found by the Renaissance to be none other than the spirit of modern science and democracy. Science takes nothing for granted. It insists on facts and evidences. It is critical in handling traditions and beliefs. It is impartial and systematic in dealing with facts. Democracy, on the other hand, is essentially a faith that all men should have equal opportunity, that each member is to be given freedom to develop, in social setting, his individuality, and that no individual, nor class, nor race should be allowed to dominate others. The leaders of the Renaissance movement were even willing to accept the charge that, in accepting these ideals, China was virtually making a complete surrender to the West. They, of course, were aware that these ideals have not yet been fully realised by the West, yet they believed firmly that it was due to these ideals that the Western nations were able to lead the World. The paradox, however, is that, in making this surrender, China begins to become her own mistress. The impetus given by the adoption of Western science and democracy has been tremendous, as evidenced by the phenomenal production of literature, the widespread interest in criticising age-long traditions, and in discussing problems of all sorts.

The Renaissance was supplemented and greatly

strengthened by a sister movement, the Literary Revolution. In her effort to popularise the scientific and democratic ideas, the outworn written style known as *wen-li* was inevitably rejected as a means or expression, for it had acted as a retarding force for centuries. A new and more effective medium had to be adopted in place of the old. This purpose was accomplished by the so-called Literary Revolution. The significance of the Revolution will become evident when we bear in mind that a similar revolution took place when the European Renaissance overthrew the Latin language, which had been practically the only written medium for the whole of Europe for fifteen centuries, and thus gave birth to the various European national languages. The revolution would not have been possible, if conditions in general were not ripe; but Hu Suh and Chen Tu Shiu might be regarded as the two individuals who were specially instrumental, as far as human effort is concerned. The former summed up his platform once as follows:

1. Write only when you have something to say.
2. Write what you have to say and write it as it is said.
3. Write in your own words, not in someone else's.
4. Write in the language of your own time.

Space will not permit me to enter into the various other movements, such as the movement

for mass education, made possible by the Literary Revolution, and so I must proceed to give a brief account of the rise of nationalism. Nationalism, understood in the sense of an aspiration and determination to preserve national integrity and sovereignty, is, of course, not new. Indeed, the whole episode of China's diplomatic dealings is to be understood only in the light of this nationalistic feeling. After the Boxer incident, this feeling subsided for a while, only to come back twenty years later in the forms of the Anti-Christian Movement and the movement for the abolition of unequal treaties and the restoration of China's lost rights. The nationalistic movement is now rightfully claiming everybody's attention. Time is now ripe for the leaders of the various movements in the nation to turn their efforts to the more practical aspects of the problem of national salvation, for it is only by endeavouring to restore to China what legitimately belongs to her that it is possible for her to render her contributions to the world. The platform of the nationalists: "Exterminate the traitors within, and resist oppression from without," is serving to line up all factions within the nation, even including the Communists.

To sum up this brief account, we may say that China, through these movements, has discovered a method in science, a principle in democracy and a tool in the Literary Revolution. In addition, she is steadily working toward a goal, that is, to make herself really independent and free.

For the sake of clearness, however, a few points should be added. First, all these movements are not to be confused with political parties. China to-day has no political parties to speak of, with the possible exception of Kuo Ming Tang, the Peoples' Party. All these are merely spontaneous movements to meet certain felt needs of the nation. They have very little organisation and not much co-ordination. Furthermore, they are by no means the only intellectual movements that might be mentioned. In a big nation like China, currents, cross currents, and counter currents do exist side by side. Nor do I intend to give the impression that these movements leave nothing to be desired. To take the anti-Christian movement, for instance, one often deplores the fact that the attitude of those who are agitating for it has not been as scientific and democratic as one might wish. It must be admitted, however, that the anti-Christian movement, in so far as it is an expression of the nationalistic feelings, has its roots in China's desire to emancipate herself from foreign aggression, and it is even too early to say whether the movement has done more harm than good to our Christian cause. Personally, I feel inclined to think that it has accomplished some good. It has aroused us Christians to such an extent that we can no longer remain lukewarm or indifferent to our faith. It has taught us to search deeply into our own individual and collective lives, and it has also pointed out to us the source to which

we must turn to regain our purity of faith and strength of character.

The intellectual movements certainly have shortcomings and failures, and, as time goes on, these will probably increase in number. They are, however, the real hopes of China. The foreign powers should certainly not fail to realise the gigantic nature of the task that is confronting China. What took Europe centuries to achieve, namely, Renaissance, literary, political, and industrial revolutions, are taking place in China simultaneously. The foreign powers should further realise that in the past they have taken advantage of China's ignorance and weakness and have imposed unjust treaties upon her, and thus it is up to them to remove these conditions which have been a constant source of friction. Justice and fairplay demand that the foreign powers should put no obstacles into her path. China must have a breathing-space. She must be allowed time to work out her own salvation. In a word, she appeals to justice and time.

In considering the possible contributions that we, both as individual Christians and as the Y.M.C.A., may make to these movements, I would suggest two lines along which our movement may render service. First, to the rising tide of nationalism, we must, besides showing respect and willingness to participate, endeavour to point out the possible dangers of such a movement, unless supplemented by the spirit of Christian Internationalism. We must try to

prove that a warless world is not a mere dream if we sincerely believe in the doctrine of the brotherhood of men. Our second contribution seems to lie in the field of a philosophy of life. The prolonged controversy between the metaphysicians and the scientists two years ago led these two camps to advance their views of life. Now what is our philosophy of life? Have we worked out one which is presentable to the Chinese people? I believe the field is wide open for our movement. Young men and women with whom I have come into contact seem to be besieged by life problems of all sorts, and not a few of them have become rather downhearted, or even definitely hold pessimistic views of life. Can we through our literature and through our way of life communicate the zestful and optimistic life to them? To this question we must address ourselves.

In order to make these contributions to the young men and women of to-day, however, there seem to be certain conditions which we must first fulfil. In the first place, it seems to me necessary for us to rediscover our faith. Of course I do not mean to cast any reflection upon the faith we hold. But as long as we have not attained finality, we should incessantly continue our search into truth. Moreover, the Christian faith is being challenged not only in China, but practically all over the world. This should drive us all the more to stocktaking, before we can ever expect to make our faith acceptable to others. Thus, for instance, questions such as: "Wherein

does the uniqueness of Jesus lie ? " and " Why do we owe spiritual allegiance to Him ? " seem to me to be of the uttermost importance. Any honest and sincere attempt along this line and other similar lines, no matter how radical or conservative it may seem, should receive our hearty encouragement. Secondly, we need to demonstrate our ability as well as desire to apply the spirit of science and democracy to our Association policy and administration. After all, it is more important to examine our own lives and institutions than to pass criticisms upon others. Is the Association movement so scientific that we are not afraid of facing facts, all the facts and nothing but facts ? How far have we succeeded in creating an atmosphere which makes sincere and frank sharing of views possible, and which enables us to revaluate traditional standards and values, and to follow the leading of truth, in a way which is absolutely fearless and Christian ? I am sure that this scientific spirit will work wonders, if we can really get hold of it. Once more, we must ask ourselves whether our movement is even thoroughly democratised. In all probability, with most of us, it is not the lack of desire but the lack of knowledge or technique which is keeping us back. If that is the case, then let us bend all our energy in making experiments, so that a technique may be evolved. After all is said and done, is it not true that the spirit of science and democracy is identical with the Christian spirit ? So to democratise and to make scientific the

Association movement is after all not doing anything more nor less than to Christianise our movement in the best sense of the term. "But the hour cometh and now is when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him."—John, iv, 23.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND LIFE IN CHINA

T. C. Chao

To the casual observer the preponderance of irreligious literature and talks by intellectual and anti-religious people seems to show that China is at the present time a country that has dispensed with religion or at least thinks that religion is merely good for superstitious folks in limiting their conduct to proper social spheres. To him China has always appeared irreligious because of the tolerant attitude that the Chinese have for religious differences and their demand for a reasonable explanation of all religious beliefs. All the more may the Chinese people appear to be irreligious if they insist on the reality of religious life, showing this insistence in their dislike for forms and traditions that appear to them to be meaningless.

Deeper study, however, shows a different picture. It reveals that, in spite of the loud Anti-Christian Movement, which is a sign of the need for a deeper manifestation of religion, the Chinese people, the steady and respectable class of people, are searching for a satisfactory spiritual life. They may not seek it in the same way as we do. They may be either superstitious or

overcritical, or both, presenting a strange picture of things to us who are not accustomed to think of religion in other than our own way. But they seek the same reality of life and the same value and meaning of human existence nevertheless. It is as necessary for them to get related to the spiritual realities of life as it is for us to do so.

It would indeed be strange if, at a time like this, religion were not the thing that people desired and longed to have. Many a man finds a divided self, an inner struggle that may be disregarded but never entirely ignored, in the face of political and social disturbances. Not even the three prevalent evils in China could prevent people from realising the urgent spiritual needs over and above material needs. Poverty, ignorance, and wrong thinking, which are at the root of all sin to-day, have not prevented students from seeking the truth and hating the falsehood of things, have not stopped the middle-aged and the aged, the moderate and the conservative folks that form an important portion of the nation, in their pursuit of a quietistic life of spiritual cultivation, and have not in any way affected the formation of many religious groups, fellowships, and societies for the development of religious experience. A combination of these three evils, economic dissatisfaction, ignorance, and wrong thinking, can do almost any destructive thing, but the present situation has shown that they have not been able to decrease the religious life of the nation. In some respects they have started religious heart-

searchings and increased faith. It seems that faith grows at least as fast as it is destroyed.

A dozen or more reasons can be given for the hunger and thirst manifested by people for a satisfactory religion. (1) The political and social disturbances of the country have set many a mind to thinking on spiritual realities. (2) The failure of political, social, and other aspirations in the face of such disturbances has led many to religious questionings. (3) The confusion of thought on science and religion, on numerous social questions which appear to destroy the values of life, have made some people feel that the real life is above and beyond this confusion in a realm where the "yes" and the "no" never reach. (4) The manifest instability of all things suggests that somewhere and somehow there is a stability throughout the universe which awaits either discovery or faith to reveal itself to the willing. (5) The sin and corruption around demand a religious power for social discipline and social self-control. (6) The lingering love for the past helps many a one turn his face again toward Confucius for inner peace and self-integration. (7) The need of friends that are faithful through thick and thin has caused the formation of semi-religious organisations. (8) The need of a power to do the impossible thing has found an unequivocal expression on the part of thoughtful and patriotic Chinese leaders of national movements. (9) The disintegration of old religious practices has left a vacancy in the hearts of religious

people, leading them to start new experiments and organisations. (10) The quest for the equivalents of religion has started groups of people manufacturing "isms" for young people that may be used only when some religious equivalent can be provided them, to which they may direct their loyalty and faith. (11) The Anti-Christian Movement, in spite of all its disturbances and destructive criticisms, has hastened the growth of self-consciousness on the part of the Christian Church in China, involving a certain religious scepticism among Chinese Christians, which, because it is not yet very outspoken, has not received as serious attention on the part of Christian leaders in China to-day as it should. (12) The revolt against empty traditionalism, as many Chinese see it in the Christian Church, and the attack on compulsory religious education, have made a clear-cut demand on real spiritual life rather than on the smooth running of old methods. (13) Yet while some people, being dissatisfied with the Christian Church and its life, have openly severed connections with the Christian fellowship in favour of either Confucianism or Buddhism, or both, there are also thoughtful people from the official and gentry class who join the Church and profess themselves Christians. (14) Within the Christian Church there are people who have true faith, expressing their lives in the most beautiful way, looking forward always to a bright future through the present difficulties and apparent disbelief.

With these ideas in view let us see if there are facts that show them to be truly the signs of the times. First let us mention the Tung Shan Shih which was started by Kiang Shao Tsung in Peking among official circles. This organisation has political as well as religious ideas or beliefs as rallying-points for its adherents. Just what these political beliefs are, only those who are inside can tell. According to current views the religious activities of this organisation consist of practices of some mystical "quiet sitting" which are conducive, as it is believed by the members, to good health and long life. Such practices are at first rather difficult to carry out, but as time goes on the initiate will find results produced both in his body and in his spirit. There is a very strict grading among the members, regarding rank based upon attainment. Evidently a certain period of time is to be spent by the novitiate in learning the elementary practices. During this period he is on a sort of probation, which shows that the organisation is bent on receiving into its confidence only those who are faithful to its principles and doctrines. The religion that they have is a kind of eclecticism, a mixture of the three old religions, taking ideas of health education from Taoism, "quiet sitting" and practice from some forms of Buddhism, and ethical ideas and organisation from a kind of Confucianism. As this religious conglomeration seems to give satisfaction to many who need something like religion to relate them to spiritual realities, and

as the political side of the matter, together with the inner circle or brotherhood, seems to be conducive to political and social gratifications, the Tung Shan Shih has spread very rapidly from a metropolitan centre to nearly all the large cities and towns. Not only have military and civil officials, together with retired politicians, swarmed into this organisation, but many high-class people from the gentry and many rich ladies have joined in the quest for spiritual satisfaction. As it is difficult and even impossible for an outsider to give a clear account of what such an organisation really is, and as the members do not appear to give true accounts of their fellowship to outsiders, we may stop here, only with a few indications that Tung Shan Shih is at least partially religious in practice and aspiration, and in our ignorance it sometimes suggests to us that it is a secret society, similar to the Tsing P'ang and Hung P'ang secret societies in organisation and probably also in purposes.

There have been attempts to make Confucianism into a religion. At least three things might be adduced to make such attempts for some people worth making. They are the worship of heaven, the worship of ancestors, and the worship of Confucius himself as a kind of prophet of the religion, when he is raised to a position of divinity essentially the same as the divine nature of heaven. During the early years of the Republic, Dr Chen Hui Tsang made desperate efforts to make Confucianism the state religion of China.

The attempt was defeated, not because Christians strenuously opposed it, but mainly because the leaders of the new popular government took no interest, and sometimes thought this sort of religious legislation was contradictory to the spirit of the revolution that had just come to pass. Since then the New Thought or Renaissance Movement has intervened, attacking Confucius and his teachings in such strong terms that it has become impossible for Confucianism to be anything other than a religion only for those who believe. However, staunch Confucianists are not lacking in the country. This class of people look upon the teachings of Confucius from the critical and intellectual standpoint and give them evaluations which do not amount to religious significance. But on the other hand there are those who still think that Confucius has given us religion. The most interesting personality that holds such strange ideas is Kang Yu Hui, who is now over seventy years of age and who has the daring to believe that he is now in the world to save it. In his home on the Bubbling-well Road, Shanghai, he worships Shangti, Confucius, and his own ancestors. While Confucianism now makes but little impression on the students of the country, it still has a large influence over the middle-aged and the aged, especially those who were taught in their early days the ethical values which to them must be conserved at any cost. This conservation of values is nothing other than religion for some. Dr Y. Y. Tsu, in

his paper on "Spiritual Tendencies of the Chinese People as Shown Outside of the Christian Church To-day" (see *Chinese Recorder*, December, 1925), mentions the Hsi Shin Shih, the founder of which once told him his faith in the following words: "Without religious devotion, we can accomplish nothing; I have tried to make Confucius the centre of my faith." The same old gentleman, in his conversation with Dr Tsu, said also: "I used to be like them (the Renaissance leaders) in my younger days. I also dismissed all religions as superstition, beneath the dignity of educated people to profess. But I know better now. Wait until these younger men go through some heartrending experience, when some inexplicable sorrow enters into their life and all but breaks it up; then they will see deeper into the meaning of life."

Besides the Tung Shan Shih and the Hsi Shin Shih, we have in our midst the Tao Yuan, which is a very rapid religious development. To quote Dr Tsu again, "It started in Tsinan, Shantung, in the winter of 1921, and, from a membership, of 1200 in 13 organised societies, reported in 1922, it has grown, according to the latest published statistics, into 110 societies throughout the country, with a membership, it is claimed, of 30,000. Shantung has thirty-eight Tao Yuan; Chihli, eighteen; Kiangsu eighteen, and other provinces smaller numbers."[1] While

[1] For a more detailed account of this movement, see P. W. S. O'Neill, *The Quest for God in China*.—Ed.

the Tao Yuan has drawn criticism upon itself on account of its emphasis upon spiritualistic communications, mystic eclecticism and the use of the planchette, it is characterised by its spirit of brotherhood and fellowship, which, in satisfying the social demands of the devotees and also their religious life, gives them a sense of spiritual security and joy not to be found outside religious faith. The rapid growth of the membership of the Tao Yuan, both on account and in spite of the gross superstition so apparent to the scientifically inclined, indicates to us the need of a satisfactory religion. Many who have become tired of or failed in their political life have taken to religious practices, finding in them a peace, a sense of reconciliation, a freedom from fear and worry that could not be found elsewhere. The Tao Yuan, while grossly superstitious, shows three essential characteristics of religion, namely, the practical urge of life to find peace and freedom in some sort of spiritual reality, the religious brotherhood, and the peculiarly religious attitude of tolerance toward others. All who are earnestly seeking the meaning of life may join the Tao Yuan—Taoists, Buddhists, Confucianists, Mohammedans and Christians—without having to renounce the religion that they severally profess. All the saints, religious founders, and deities of all the religions communicate with the believers. The Tao Yuans throughout the country form a kind of network of fellowship. Anyone belonging to one Tao Yuan can have

the same fellowship in the Tao Yuans of other cities to which he may go.

Other similar and smaller organisations might be mentioned, but as they are of like nature, on a smaller or less successful scale, they may be neglected in such a short paper as this. Let us now turn our attention to Buddhism.

When we consider the people who are studying and embracing the religion of Buddha, we cannot but feel that it is one of the most vital religious forces in China to-day. Buddhism is missionary in spirit, has a vast amount of religious literature and tracts that are spread throughout the land, possesses a philosophy which is deep and difficult enough to arouse intellectual curiosity and interest, and offers a way of salvation, in the form of retirement, quietude, and meditation, which is a welcome remedy for all who are tired of the world. Buddhism wields to-day a double-edged sword, in that it appeals strongly to the mass of the people through its rich forms, ceremonies, and temple worship, and in that it gives an intellectual basis of religion which is not entangled in the international, political difficulties. Anyone may be considered unlearned who does not know something about Buddhism. Old temples are being repaired, in these days of economic dissatisfaction, and a great deal of money is being spent in gilding idols in gold sheets. While it is very true that many scientific minds look upon Buddhism with distrust because of its illogical philosophy, thinking that this religion is de-

socialising and devitalising spiritually, it is also true that very many thoughtful people are turning to it for a satisfactory view of life and for some sort of anchorage. Some who are dissatisfied with Christianity, like Mr Chang Shang I and Mr C. C. Nieh, turn toward Buddhism with much spiritual vigour, to find a peace that they have not been able to find even in the Christian religion as traditionally interpreted to them. Mr Chang even went so far as to try to make Christianity into a sect of Reformed Buddhism, stating in unequivocal terms that foreign missionaries of the Christian religion were all devoid of understanding as to the real nature of Christianity.

Buddhism is a philanthropic religion as well as a philosophic faith. Thus on the one hand it can gather round itself prominent officials like Tuan Chi Juan, Yih Kung Tsa and others, important merchants, wealthy ladies and old *literati*, and on the other hand it can exercise an influence over the intellectuals of the time. Prominent laymen, like Ou Yang Kyung Wu, both study the Buddhistic books and cultivate the spiritual life in the China School of Esoteric Religion, Nanking. Many scholarly persons go there for study and meditation. A prominent monk, called Tai Hsi (Absolute Void) has been going around lecturing on Buddhism in such places as Peking, Kuling, Nanking, Wuchang, Soochow, and other important places. Wherever he goes, he has a large audience to hear him. He usually begins with imposing ceremonies, which rather appeal to the

Chinese people. In the course of a recent conversation with Tai Hsi, I learned from him that he has a desire to carry on missionary work in America, not to teach or lecture in big universities, but to live the Buddhistic life, with the ceremonies and the Buddhistic methods of spiritual cultivation, among a people which seems to him to be one that knows phenomenal things and not things beyond the world of phenomena and speech. Professing himself an atheist, believing that the universal spiritual force is impersonal, he yet claims to have a religious experience, which, though difficult to explain, he desires to share with others. I was not able to understand from him how he could both affirm and know that which is beyond the ordinary means of knowledge and speech. While he appears to be dogmatic, both in his writings and speech, as his books on *The Science of the Philosophy of Life* and *The Great Vehicle and the Two Types of Civilisations of the World* will clearly show, he is yet of a pleasing personality and both his atheism and his way of life appeal to the imagination of the Chinese people. Still it is very clear that the emphasis is much less on human ethical conduct than on the attainment of something which is entirely beyond the comprehension of the common folk.

Various classes of people in China to-day are aware of the need for religion. Both the meaning of personal life and destiny and the social discipline necessary for the carrying on of democracy on a

large scale must be found in religion, in one form or another. What intelligent people do not want is superstition and anything destructive of our national prestige and character. These two aspects of thought reveal themselves strangely in the Anti-Christian Movement, which, in some respects, has nationalism and patriotism as its religion. While there is little criticism in regard to the person and character of Jesus, the founder of the Christian religion, the two main lines of attack on Christianity are political and intellectual. In other words Christianity is thought to be the running dog of foreign capitalism and imperialism, one and the same in substance with foreign exploitation of various kinds in China. Christianity has opened up ways for foreign industry, commerce, and education, which is generally termed cultural exploitation on account of its compulsory religious instruction in the Christian schools and of its usurpation of China's right to determine her own educational policies; Christianity is making converts by depriving them of their freedom of choice in matters of religion. On the other hand, religion is thought to be in conflict with science. If one wants to be scientific, he cannot accept any religion to bias his mind in the quest for truth, nor identification with something which, instead of being accepted as true, should be objectively and scientifically verified as a mere hypothesis in regard to a way of going through life with success. Even Christianity should not be

accepted. The conception of a personal God is obsolete anthropomorphism; the doctrine of the Trinity is nonsense, such beliefs as virgin birth, miracles, and physical resurrection, such practices as baptism and the Lord's Supper are only survivals of primitive cults that should long ago have gone out of existence. In addition to these criticisms of the Christian religion there is a bundle of wrong ideas in regard to superstitious practices in the Christian Church, broadcast in order to inculcate attacks on Christianity or to lower its standing in the eyes of thoughtful people.

Criticism has now crystallised into activity on the part of anti-Christians against the Christian schools. Perhaps persecutions are needed to-day to goad us into a real and deep spiritual life with a sense of the reality of the presence of God the Father and the power of Jesus the Saviour.

At present there is dissatisfaction on the part of thoughtful Christians in regard to their Christian life, spiritually as well as intellectually. The young people in our schools, Christians and non-Christians, are awaiting a reinterpretation of the faith which will not only express for them their patriotic and religious aspirations, but also show them a reasonable way of personal as well as social salvation and development. The usual Church services, important as they are, are no longer satisfactory. Personal friendships, small groups for worship and discussion, must now more or less take the place of formal worship, which must

be retained but must only be held for public worship on Sundays. No longer can short and efficient methods of preaching suffice. The method of educating a person up to a real religious experience that will stay with him through temptations of all kinds takes a long period of unfailing friendship.

Many other things could be said here. But the limitations of space lead me to conclude with a few ideas on the demands on Christianity to-day. It is entirely mistaken to think that Christianity has completely failed, as some think, or is failing in its work of redemption. There are forces at work which are positively constructive, not only in its own life, but in the social whole. True we have in our midst the Anti-Christian Movement, but this movement, instead of being able to destroy the life that is in us, who firmly believe in God as Father of all humanity, Jesus as Saviour, and the Kingdom of God as the goal of our endeavour, is moving us to thought and to penitence that our life has not been sufficient to witness to the truth of our faith. The Anti-Christian Movement make us think of two things, namely, are we, in following Jesus, politically unfit to be China's best citizens? Are we superstitious in our beliefs and practices? If the answer is in the affirmative and we are sure of it, then let us quit altogether and become anti-Christians as devoutly as we can. But if the answer is no, then it is our immediate duty to find the reality in our own experience and in our

own life, in our clear-cut thinking and in our activities, to bear witness to the gospel of individual and social salvation.

The demands on Christianity are these. First, it must present to the thoughtful of to-day a religious life of power, thoroughly ethical, profoundly critical and discriminating, and completely loyal to God. Secondly, it must become adjusted to its social and intellectual environment, so that from this time the religion of Christians should be an inner growth rather than an external imposition even in appearance. No religion brought into the country from outside can become indigenous unless it becomes a growth from within and makes its own natural and living adaptations and improvements. Thirdly, there should be a reasonable interpretation of the deep religious experience of the believers, a Christian rationalism that is free, yet based upon the facts of the spiritual life. Fourthly, those who believe must now work to Christianise and create a new community in China. Christianity stands for a redeemed and new humanity, in the form, at first, of a brotherhood, then of a society, and then of a nation which is a part of the whole of humanity. The Communists want society to become communistic; the working-men want society to be the working-men's society; anti-Christians and half-baked scientists want society to be one of atheism and rationalism without a foundation for it; but all will fail unless those who can do it make society a society

of loving souls. The Christian, believing in God; must desire to have, and work hard for the realisation of, a society which may be called the Kingdom of God. Then, finally, the times call aloud for the forthcoming of prophets, men and women who know God and who can transcend the sins of the times and have visions of the truth and of the future. Great opportunities are linked up with grave dangers. And the sin of Chinese Christians to-day lies in the fact that they are being led astray and they are not leading the times as they should. The clearest demand to-day is for a new leadership among Chinese Christians, which can transcend the times in thought and life and can lead.

Every demand is a test; every test is a weighing of our faith and conduct in the eternal balance of God. China needs a spiritual uplift to-day more urgently than ever, and, therefore, offers those who have faith unprecedented opportunities. God never lets an opportunity go by without a clear call. It is man who delays because there is too little spiritual preparedness. The ancient prophet Amos has a message for us to-day in the stern voice: "Prepare thyself to meet thy God."

V. THE NEW CULTURE MOVEMENT AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CHINA

By Timothy Tingfang Lew, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.

I

Broadly speaking, one notices that four main currents in the New Culture Movement have made themselves felt. First there is the emphasis upon *Science*. This movement has passed through three main stages. The earliest stage was an appeal to material science for national salvation. In the next stage, the appeal was for a new form of government. The third stage is an appeal for a new philosophy of life. So science, particularly the physical sciences, has been one of the chief points of emphasis. From the crude expectation of attaining the power of " national self-strengthening "—the term used in the last three decades of the Manchu dynasty—through reliance on machines and military weapons made according to modern science, to a vigorous advocacy of a mechanistic interpretation of life, the emphasis upon science is growing stronger and stronger, and to-day it has acquired a subtlety which will exert tremendous influence in the days to come.

This emphasis may be indicated roughly along the following lines :

(1) That man's present environment involves too much suffering.

(2) That all this suffering can be avoided, overcome, and eventually entirely eliminated.

(3) That this elimination of suffering cannot be expected through superhuman work or superhuman decree but through sheer human effort.

(4) That human effort should be directed toward acquiring a knowledge of facts as they are and a technique to control the factors which determine and produce the desired effects.

(5) That the systematisation of this knowledge and technique is the very body of science, and science can be indefinitely improved.

(6) That science is, therefore, omnipotent, if we take into view a limitless period. It can already do a great deal, and whatever it cannot do now, it will do eventually.

(7) That the conception of science should be the basis of our view of the universe and our philosophy of human life and destiny.

(8) That the scope of science is, therefore, greatly enlarged, and is not limited to the natural sciences but is extended also to the social side ; but that the social sciences are to be interpreted on the basis of material factors.

The second emphasis is on *Democracy*. The appeal to the establishment of a new government to replace the monarchical form as a way to

national salvation resulted in the downfall of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the Republic. The fourteen eventful years of the new experiment, which have resulted in so much unfriendly criticism and heart-rending discouragement, have not weakened the emphasis on democracy an iota. On the contrary we see that in spite of all the failures the idea of democracy and faith in it have been growing instead of declining. The New Culture Movement makes it unmistakeably clear that its life and the life of democracy are so entwined that any separation is well nigh impossible.

The emphasis upon democracy is roughly felt in the following ways :

(1) That the people is the basis of the nation, and that to the people the final appeal should be made in all subjects.

(2) That in order to make the people able to solve national problems education is required.

(3) That such education should be universal. No class distinctions of any sort should be allowed to limit the educational programme.

(4) That such education should emphasise elements of citizenship.

(5) That leadership in politics and power should be open to all on the basis of free competition.

(6) That there is faith in the ultimate realisation of democratic ideals, which it may take time to attain.

(7) That any barriers between the people and

the attainment of this goal should be removed. Traditions, conventions, time-honoured practices, are to be swept away; even the teachings of the revered sages should mercilessly be discarded. The present popular slogan is: "Throw them into the sink," the strongest possible term one can use to express disregard.

(8) That the actions of the nation's leaders are to be judged in every instance by their effect upon this effort to attain to the democratic goal.

(9) That there should be no distinction between men and women in this effort. The outspoken advocates of woman's part in national politics are not women but men, who believe in that democracy which requires the co-operation of both sexes.

(10) That these democratic practices and ideals should begin with the students in their student life, and are not to be postponed until the students have become mature men and women, nor until the conditions of the country are ready for them, because they have to make the country ready for democracy.

The third emphasis is on *Nationalism*. The national experience of China during the last hundred years, which has furnished the background of the New Culture Movement, is also the source of its motive power. This experience has been a sad and painful one. It gives every incentive to the rise of nationalism. While the articulate emphasis is a comparatively new one,

it has been the all-pervading, controlling purpose from the very beginning. It is the salvation of China as a nation that gives life and power to the movement. In the last few years this emphasis on nationalism has come to the forefront through certain groups, and they in turn have become prominent through certain individuals, who have given expression to the inarticulate desires and feelings of thousands of youths and other people. These groups, although formed by different individuals, at different times and under different circumstances, have discovered that they have much in common, and they are working for a federation to carry out their common platform. This is, therefore, an emphasis which will make their influence widely felt, because it is a crystallisation of some of the highest, noblest and most truly unselfish elements of the movement. It has also the promise of success because of its very nature, since it meets the needs of the nation and possesses facts that are convincing.

The form this emphasis takes and the specific definite points which it includes can be estimated from the statements and expositions of some of its leaders and advocates. The most common ones include the following :

(1) Nationalism advocates the development of the spirit of the nation or the national soul. It opposes anything that tends to destroy the good elements of the national culture.

(2) Nationalism advocates the ideals of progress

and advance among the masses of the people. It opposes any theory which tends to encourage self-abnegation, self-destruction or deflection of the self-respect of the nation.

(3) Nationalism advocates the service of the nation by the people. It opposes any selfish purpose of individuals or classes which interferes with the benefit of the whole nation.

(4) Nationalism, facing the nation within, emphasises unity. It opposes any programme or theory which believes in or permits divisions, or succession of sovereignty or territory of the nation.

(5) Nationalism, facing without, emphasises independence. It opposes any theory which depends on the support of other nations or international action or control.

(6) Nationalism aims to attain the prosperity and glorification of the nation, but expects the mutual benefits of all the nations of the world. It does not advocate narrow, exclusive provincialism or the severing of relationships with other nations.

The fourth emphasis is upon a *Spiritual Quest.* This emphasis is never clearly stated in any cut and dried fashion like the other three points of emphasis. One does not find any one outspoken paper which sets forth the spiritual quest as one of the important elements of the New Culture Movement. Yet anyone who can read carefully the writings which have been published on the various subjects that have been discussed by the

New Culture Movement, or who has a wide acquaintance and a constant contact and intimate relation with the youth of China to-day who make up the adherents of the movement, cannot but see that, underlying all the different points of view and emphasis, there are unmistakably clear evidences of a spiritual quest, inarticulate but strong and persistent, which finds its way into every discussion.

One can only point to the various tendencies or signs or symptoms, which may be briefly stated as follows :

(1) There is a faith in the ultimate triumph of that which is good and noble, which forms the basis of confidence in their efforts to work for progress.

(2) There is a gradual and steady growth of the sense of individual responsibility and an effort to fulfil this individual responsibility, an earnest search after ways of improving oneself in moral living.

(3) There is a blossoming of the passion for freedom which is hostile to slothfulness, self-satisfaction and slavish obedience. It searches after a power that gives men freedom and the ability to exercise and preserve it.

(4) There is an authentic appreciation of reality, a persistent determination to get at the facts as they are, and to face them courageously. It searches after a criterion and a standard for verifying reality.

(5) There is an outspoken opposition to idolatry of any kind. Iconoclasm is one of the outstanding features of the New Culture Movement. There is a relentless opposition to any person, theory or dogma which has been set up as an idol. The essence of the movement is the re-evaluation of values.

(6) There is the growth of a genuine belief in social welfare, in its supreme position in human endeavour. There is a genuine effort to subject individual wishes and desires to the higher motives of common good.

(7) There is a search for the deeper meanings of life, an effort to formulate a new philosophy of life, a desire to know the unity of the relationship to the ultimate and the final goal of all the problems related to human life.

These, then, are the four main currents in the New Culture Movement of China: science, democracy, nationalism and a spiritual quest. I have endeavoured to present the detailed points of emphasis covered by these four. Here I wish to utter *a word of warning*, that in the discussion of the main currents and points of emphasis in the New Culture Movement we must be careful to distinguish our conception of them, or what we think they should be according to our individual background, from that which is actually taught and advocated in the current propaganda of the movement. I trust that what I have presented is a faithful though sketchy picture of the movement

as it is ascertainable from the written and spoken expressions of its leaders and adherents.

II

We shall now ask what this movement has actually achieved through these emphases. This question not only has important bearings upon the present-day nature of our teaching, but it may also serve as an indication of the probable future for which we should shape our educational programme and policies. To this question I shall answer briefly, touching the main points. I shall answer this question in two parts, first, what it has succeeded in accomplishing; second, where it has failed thus far.

What has the movement achieved thus far?

(1) It has created a critical attitude among the youth toward problems of all kinds, critical to the extent that they are asking questions on issues which have been considered closed, and that there is a genuine dissatisfaction with regard to the established order. This we can count as an accomplished result throughout the land.

(2) It has accomplished much in the creation of desire for discussion. Group discussion, discussion through writing, have become a part of the daily life of the students. Periodicals, especially the small sheet weeklies and the supplements of the daily newspapers, have contributed a great

deal to bring this about. There is one newspaper in Peking which publishes eight different kinds of weekly supplements in addition to its daily supplement. Its columns are open to all contributors. Each of these supplements is devoted to one central theme, such as the woman's problem, children's problems, and so forth. And these small sheets, which average ten to fifteen thousand words a day, have more influence than the average sophisticated person may imagine in shaping the thinking of the younger generation.

(3) There is a definite growth of courage in expression. People who belittle such expressions of youth do not realise that in many instances it takes a great deal of courage to speak out on these various issues. There is a tendency to sign articles and to be responsible for what one says, to stand ready to meet rebuttal, in contrast to the use of a pseudonym and the evasion of the challenge of an answer.

(4) The movement has achieved a great success in establishing *pai hua* as the normal medium of expression. And what is more, it actually is developing a *pai hua* literature, worthy of the name of literature in every sense of the term. Lucidity, precision and beauty are greatly improved both in prose and in verse. The future of *pai hua* is safely assured in spite of the desperate effort of certain high officials who recently tried to go back to *wenli*. The " backward moving of the train " will not last long.

(5) The movement has, with the help of other

political events, firmly established the idea of democracy in China.

(6) It has initiated a revival of appreciation of Chinese culture.

These are, then, the main fruits of this movement: a critical attitude, accompanied by a desire for discussion, with courage of expression and a tool with which ideas can be expressed clearly, accurately and elegantly; and through it all a faith in democracy.

I must now come to the second part, namely, what the movement has not yet succeeded in achieving. First of all, as to science.

(1) It has not yet helped many to acquire the habit of scientific thinking. Much of the writing to-day is not very much more than thinking aloud. One can almost see the process of thinking in the writers and they need rigorous scientific training.

(2) It has not yet helped many to form the habit of scientific living. Fighting as hard as they do against superstition, unscientific beliefs and practices, they nevertheless are still under their bondage. Even among some of the leaders of the movement, one finds many victims, those who fall into old habits, unscientific and well nigh superstitious.

(3) It has failed noticeably in helping people, especially college students, to acquire what I regard as the fundamental factor of success in this movement, namely, a joy in scientific labour.

The teaching of science, we must admit, has been rather poorly done, especially in the middle schools, as the careful investigation of Professor Twiss has shown. And with the disturbing conditions of the colleges we can in a way excuse the teachers of science in higher institutions. But the fact still remains that the students who specialise in science have not increased in considerable numbers under the present strenuous effort to advocate science. Nor have the students who have chosen science as their major field of study shown zeal and professional joy in proportion to their clamour. With the exception of certain technical institutions, students in colleges of arts and sciences have not chosen subjects in the sciences as they have literature, law, politics, history, sociology, economics and the like. There is still lurking in their minds the notion that physical sciences are somehow philistine compared with literary work. We must add, however, that the scientific study of education has made considerable strides in the last few years. And this should be taken into consideration by itself.

Second, as to democracy, the movement has achieved very little beyond establishing the general idea of and faith in democracy. As a matter of fact, one painfully notices every day the slowness of progress along many lines.

(1) It has failed to train the people to acquire a conception of law, which is the *sine qua non* of believers in democracy when they try to put it

into actual practice. That law is not arbitrary, that it is to be made by the people, that after it is made one has to obey it at any cost, that until it is changed or repealed one has to stand by it, has not yet become a part of the thinking of youth.

(2) It has failed to help the people to realise that if democracy guarantees certain privileges and rights of the people, it also demands in return the surrender of certain individual privileges and rights for the benefit of the whole. That special privileges cannot be given to individuals at the expense of the public and that exceptions cannot be made to laws until they become useless, these and many other elementary concepts have not yet become a part of daily living both in the small groups and in larger organisations of the students.

(3) It has failed in the development of a habit of supreme importance, what I call willingness to share the drudgery of co-operation. Teamwork and a group spirit have been evident in some of the efforts of students even in certain cases of endeavour with a national scope. And yet one of the saddest and commonest experiences is the lack of co-operation among those who are otherwise qualified to serve society but who fail on account of not being willing to share the hardship that is involved in co-operation. Organisations, therefore, grow and die without accomplishing any tangible result. The worst of this is that it disheartens the best elements and turns them into cynics.

(4) Closely related to the question of co-operation, and often the secret of the failure of co-operation, is the inability to follow. The movement has thus far achieved very little success in building up public opinion, through writings and the development of personal ability, through contacts and actual living, that will help the youth to recognise a leader when they find him, to follow him willingly and intelligently far enough to achieve results and to stop following him when he goes wrong. It is pathetic to see the right leaders unable to lead "because there are no followers," and it is more pathetic to see demagogues leading many on to the wrong path.

(5) The movement has already shown its inherent weakness in not being able to lead youth on into new ideas and at the same time safeguard the rights of the minority to their own opinions. This is a weakness that is pregnant with great dangers.

Third, as to nationalism. The advocates of nationalism have yet a very great task before them. They have not yet succeeded in three distinct lines.

(1) They have not thoroughly aroused the people and furnished them definite, concrete objects of devotion. The idea of nationalism is still too abstract.

(2) They have not yet been able to help the people to distinguish the essentials from the non-essentials in national endeavour.

(3) They have not yet been able to help people to see what a programme of nationalism involves, with its many implications.

They are, however, working to these ends, and we cannot justly place these charges at their door as failures. We must give them time.

Fourth, as to the spiritual quest. The movement has not yet definitely furnished any vital message which is needed. There the failure is greatest. In fact, destructive forces go side by side with the germs of life that are so abundant in the movement.

III

The above picture, I trust, is a fair appraisal of the movement up to date. Individual viewpoints may vary, but as to the essential broad outlines I feel that few would question what has been said. If this is so, then we can ask our next question: What will be the environment in the next decade or so? What will be the environment into which the graduates of our universities and colleges will be sent?

One needs to guard himself against being either cynical or over-optimistic. We can picture for ourselves an environment in which thousands or perhaps hundreds of thousands of the coming generation will be clamouring for science but forever living on the crumbs fallen from the table of scientific labour of other races and nations,

youth who do not think scientifically and who are unwilling to pay the price of scientific living, dogmatic over half-understood scientific theories at the expense of other finer things in life. We see an environment in which hundreds of thousands of youth by their education have acquired social standing and authority in government, men who commit themselves irrevocably to democracy and yet are unable to co-operate, who follow no right leaders, are constantly in danger of being misled and hoodwinked by demagogues, waste their lives in cliques and selfish small combinations that disregard the public good, and degrade good causes by cleverly taking unfair advantage of them. We see an environment which is alive with intense nationalism, keenly sensitive to any criticisms whether given in the right or in the wrong spirit, suspicious of every friendly suggestion from without, yet within its own body without a sufficiently clear understanding of its own task. It is a mass that blindly accepts programmes and makes commitments which hurl men headlong into the painful mills which the western nations have gone through in the last fifty years. We see them imitating the West without an insight into all the implications until it is too late, paying a high price for something which they are, after all, not likely to get, but in the process of doing so, stifling the subtle, peace-loving conscience of the race and blocking the progress of many useful endeavours which are the very

things that would give them the fruit of the nationalism they desire. We see an environment in which a surging populace wander as lost sheep with their moral bridges completely burnt behind them, straying into a spiritual desert, longing for the nourishment of the soul, which they do not find.

But this is only half of the picture. Let us remember that for several decades yet the present generation of mature men and women will be totally untouched or only slightly impressed by the New Culture Movement. They, together with their followers, form a larger portion of the population with whom our modern educated men and women will have to work. They are willing to give their educated children and contemporaries a chance, but what if they only see the evil by-products of science, growing luxury, incessant rise of the high cost of living, the break-up of old crafts and trades, to be replaced only by sweatshops and class-struggles ?

They, too, have joined the crowd and followed the high-sounding shibboleths of democracy. But what if they only see the former curtailment of their freedom replaced by increased taxation, and the exchange of ruthless autocracy for the old imperial despotism, bribery exacted by the people above giving place to the selling and buying of votes from below, special privileges that were reserved by the few now demanded by the many ? What if they see that the full burden of the change is borne by the hard-working but uneducated majority ?

They, too, have been stirred by heartrending tales of national suffering at the hands of other nations. They are willing to contribute a great portion of the possessions earned by the sweat of their brow for the great cause of national salvation. But what if they see beyond the loud shouting and pathetic appeals nothing more than constant strikes and boycotts which, if repeated often enough, may be suicidal to the very life of industry and business ?

They, too, are willing to forego their preferences and habits, to give a trial to new customs and strange innovations totally against their own taste, painfully watching the tearing down of the time-honoured moral structure, humbly accompanying the youth, going a long way in the unknown land of moral and social adventure. But what if they find in this strange land nothing more than the misuse of liberty, well-disguised selfishness under the popular name of individualism, offering disregard as the solution for pressing problems, hugging new vices in the place of the old ?

What if they find all this ? Will they be blamed for starting a stern reactionary movement which will render still more difficult the noble efforts of the New Culture Movement, if it does not totally thwart it ? This is indeed a dark picture. But its realisation is not only possible, but quite probable. And if the actual future is not quite so dark, part of this picture or the whole of it in milder form is awaiting us, *unless leaders*

greater than we have thus far seen are born unto us. In our educational policy it behoves us to do two things: first, to be prepared for such actualities, and second, to produce the leaders that will make such an eventuality impossible.

IV

We now come to our last question. Under the influence of the New Culture Movement, which represents so much that is best, most hopeful, most desirable, which is pregnant with the greatest possibilities and yet which contains in itself these dangers, what changes in the programme of the Christian colleges should be made?

A few weeks ago two ladies met in Peking. They had been great friends in their girlhood. Both were students of a mission school. After years of separation they again saw each other as married women, with children and homes of their own. Both husbands are returned students and are university professors. These two women represent the finest type of Chinese womanhood. There are many fine qualities common to them both, which form the basis of their enduring and endearing friendship. One of them is Christian, and the other is not. Both of them are Chinese through and through. The non-Christian lady represents Chinese culture in its most attractive and sweetest form. In the same way so does the Christian lady, who represents

the fine type of Christian home nurture. In this meeting, the two renewed their friendship. It was as warm and sweet as it ever had been. But the non-Christian lady gently confided to the other that while she still loved her as much as she ever did and while there could be no shadow over their friendship, there was nevertheless one sorrowful feeling in her heart which might tend to their decreased opportunities of contact, and that was that she had a growing tendency to dislike the life and environment of the Christian Church in China as it is seen everywhere. She said she regretted that she had ever studied in a mission-school. She felt that the time spent in a mission-school gave her a training which produced a certain " missionary tone " which she found unpleasant and un-Chinese and which required a very definite effort to throw off. With a more regretful tone she said, " It is a great problem to me now where to send my children to school." She frankly acknowledged that the government schools and the Chinese private schools are not quite up to standard under the present disturbing conditions; to these she hesitated to send her children. And yet she could not feel that she was doing her children justice in sending them to mission schools. Now this lady has no malice against missionaries or mission-schools, nor is she in any definite sense anti-christian or anti-religious. She is one of the sweetest women I have ever seen. In her manners, ways and conversation, she

represents, as I said, the finest type of Chinese culture. And yet she feels so keenly, so clearly about mission-schools in the way she indicated.

This story has furnished me food for thought for the last two months. What is it that makes a mission-school student different from outsiders? That the mission-school in its best effort has produced men and women with fine qualities none of us would deny. But even the best we produce have found something in their later life, after they have left the mission-school, which they have had to shake off or modify or readjust before they could be successful. And some of them with thorough training in their academic subjects and in their moral conduct, in all appearance and in reality fine men and women, have yet had to fight for years to get readjusted. Some of them have never succeeded in making the required adjustment. Is it certain manners and ways that are foreign? Is it the lack of appreciation of things Chinese? Is it the failure to understand the old people? Is it religious attachment? A careful study is needed to clear up this mystery.

I do not attempt to answer my question. I wish only to call attention to the fact that such a question exists, and that a solution of this problem is vital to our educational programme. My humble contribution is to state what type of men and women I would like to see our colleges send out.

It is the man or woman who has a solid foundation of certain basic facts of history and of society

as it exists now; an adequate appreciation of the rudimentary principles of science acquired through one or two thorough laboratory courses in the physical sciences; a certain amount of skill and ability to apply the general facts of science to daily living; a reading knowledge of at least one foreign language, and if possible two, which should open up wide fields of knowledge not available through Chinese; a thorough grounding in Chinese culture, giving genuine appreciation of the values and importance of the social and spiritual inheritance of the Chinese race; ability to express oneself clearly and logically in the Chinese language, spoken and written, without blunders; acquisition of habits necessary to social and democratic living; ability to meet the requirements and to exercise the functions of democratic citizenship; efficiency in the technique of moral, scientific business life but not such efficiency as to destroy the human quality in personal relationships; ability to lead when called upon in one's special field but not too much eagerness to lead, with willingness to make leadership in others possible; a devotion to nationalism but without blindness to the value and glory and the hope of international brotherhood; religious fervour without the manners and airs of religiosity that repel others; a sound body which knows how to use energy economically; a man or woman Chinese in every inch and Christian also, a man or woman so prepared as to be higher than and distinct from

the environment in which he or she came, and into which he or she will be sent to live and to serve, and yet so trained as to require no further agonising readjustment.

If this is not too much to expect of the average Christian college graduate, then some such changes as follow will be needed.

(1) Teach more science—a great deal more—with better facilities, and teach it more thoroughly and more scientifically.

(2) Emphasise the teaching of citizenship. Show your faith in democracy. Turn the whole institution into a laboratory for exercise and experiment in democratic ideals, and unreservedly, wholeheartedly, allow the students self-government, self-determination, full co-operation and mutual sharing in the responsibilities and daily life of the institution.

(3) Radically overhaul the Chinese department and thoroughly strengthen the teaching of Chinese culture.

(4) In filling vacancies on the staff, give preference in every occasion to a Chinese teacher if the right man or woman is available; but no Chinese should be employed on the staff who cannot express himself acceptably in Chinese, and who shows inability to adjust himself to the true Chinese environment.

(5) Create an atmosphere which will enable the students to appreciate Chinese culture, and provide more opportunity for contacts with society.

(6) Keep the international aspect of Christian institutions alive and vital through genuine Christian lives of foreign teachers who possess genuine missionary spirit, who have caught the vision of a new social order, and who understand the currents of thought of to-day.

(7) Finally, initiate a new religious education that is aggressively and truly Christian, not through compulsory requirements and formal instruction but through the patient and pains-taking endeavour of personal work and the group fellowship of teachers with students, mobilising for this work the entire staff, bringing men and women to the inner sanctuary of the communion of saints and face to face with the redeeming and transforming power of the Great Master.

later to a fusion of the two. This fusion is taking place in China before our eyes. Look at the life in such a treaty-port as Shanghai and watch the changes going on there. The Chinese are absorbing elements of a foreign culture, whether we will or not. It is a thing that we can guide and direct but cannot possibly bring to an end.

But there are deeper and mightier currents along the same general direction elsewhere. Students are going abroad and returning home every year, translations of foreign books are issuing from the press every month, and new ideas are being spread every day. Western culture is in our midst and exerting its modifying influence on our old culture all the time, quite apart from the educational work which we are doing in the Christian institutions. The contact of cultures of East and West has produced the inevitable effect now in this country, as every other similar contact has done elsewhere at other times.

We have sufficient confidence in the good sense of the Chinese people and the stability of their national life to believe that the changes now sweeping over the country will not seriously throw them off their balance. But should we not expect more from the Chinese than that they will just hold their own ? Is not the present cultural contact too good an opportunity to let pass by lightly without making the very best of it for the edification of mankind at large ? Is it

right for us to rest content with the random changes on the surface and the mechanical fusion of unessentials without attempting something deeper and more constructive ? What we should aim at is not any patch-work or any mere fusion, but a systematic, well-thought-out and thorough-going synthesis.

The word synthesis is significant. It means that we shall have to make a complete analysis of the two cultures we wish to synthesise, compare their respective merits and weaknesses, and then form an organic whole which will conserve the best of each. This must be done, also in such a way that the native system serves as the framework of the new structure. This is a task of spiritual creation. What a bold idea to propose to bring together the spiritual products of the two largest sections of the human race, namely, the Anglo-Saxons and the Chinese ! What a wonderful vision to visualise the cultures of the East and the West joining hands so as to break down all the barriers that divide us at present ! Yet, what a stupendous task to study, evaluate and select, so as to conserve judiciously and to build wisely !

But it is a challenging task, a task that has developed upon us who are engaged in such an international creative enterprise as Christian higher education. In a Christian college, Western and Chinese scholars are working side by side in a spirit of comradeship and for the same interests, that is, the training of leadership for the New

China. We in the Christian colleges, foreigners and Chinese, are not only working and thinking together, but are also living together and bearing each other's burden in the most intimate manner. There is, therefore, in our work every opportunity to tear down the partition that usually divides individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds, and there are all the facilities to get down to the bed-rock of our cultures by careful observation and patient study instead of merely scratching the surface of things. This opportunity does not promise to be permanent, for a college in which a large number of foreign professors teach cannot be a permanent feature of Chinese education. But so long as the present situation remains, efforts ought to be made to capitalise it in the best way we can.

The task of synthesising cultures challenges us also in another way. It has been forced upon our attention as an educational problem. Whether we are giving to our students a liberal education or a more technical training in our colleges, we are consciously or unconsciously instilling into their minds certain ideas and ideals which are the cultural elements of the West. It is only meet and right that this should be done. Teachers from the West ought to set before the Chinese students the best that the West can give, and in presenting them the finest ideas and ideals of their own culture, these teachers are making the best contribution to the education of the Chinese. But how will these Western ideas and ideals fit

in with those of the Chinese social heritage? Is there not a great deal of adjustment and assimilation to be done? How many of our students are realising the seriousness of this problem, thinking it through, and getting satisfactory results? This problem is, of course, a life-long one. It cannot be completely solved in college. But this is true of every other life problem. The question is, whether we in the Christian colleges are preparing our students for it or not. If not, it is to be feared that many of the young men and women passing through our colleges will fail to make the necessary integration, and the many uncorrelated cultural elements which they have taken from their teachers will mean a perpetual struggle in their lives with perhaps disastrous results. The synthesis of cultures is, therefore, for us an educational necessity.

Furthermore, are we not training our students for leadership? And are they not expected to assume leadership in Chinese society? Unless they are steeped in Chinese ideas through and through and are able to appreciate Chinese ideals and to understand Chinese difficulties, they are not in a position to lead the Chinese or even to hold their respect, but, instead, they will be reckoned in that group which has been contemptuously labelled as being "foreignised."

But how is this synthesising work to become a part of our educational programme? In the first place, we need to understand each other's characteristics. A Chinese man of culture is

usually calm, reserved and seemingly self-satisfied. This is quite a contrast to the energetic, active, enthusiastic Westerner. But in this age of rapid movements, is there not something of value in the Chinese serenity and self-control? Are not the mastery of the self and the maintenance of an inward peace as essential to our happiness as the control of nature and the adaptation to the physical environment? These Chinese characteristics were also the possession of the European in the mediæval period, but they seem to have been left behind when Europe emerged from mediævalism. It is, therefore, necessary for us not only to appreciate each other's peculiarities so as to avoid misunderstanding in our social intercourse, but also to find a way to conserve these more stoic virtues when we in the present-day China become more modernised.

Yet let us not take the Chinese as belonging to the contemplative type, as do the Indians. We do believe that man is a microcosm and that there is a world of peace and joy within to which he may at any time retire when necessary. But we believe also in the objective study of the great world, and we value material advancement and social progress as much as intellectual poise and inward enlightenment. The development of Chinese thought bears testimony to this. It was the School of Confucius and Mencius rather than that of Laotze and Chuantze in the pre-Chin period, and the teachings of the Chen Brothers and Chu Hsi rather than those of Lu and Wong

in later periods, which won the allegiance of the people at large. There might have been political reasons to account for this, but no despot could really force down the throat of the nation something entirely contrary to its nature. Here we find an attitude very near to the attitude of scientific study in the West.

Then, there is the spirit of adventure and self-confidence of the Westerner in contrast to the fatalistic attitude of the Chinese. Apparently they are incongruous. But is not the one complementary to the other? Is not the Chinese fatalism merely confidence in the moral nature of the universe and, therefore, another aspect of the same philosophy of life which expresses itself as the spirit of adventure in the West?

So, in this way, sympathetic observation and patient study will reveal that much in the Chinese characteristics are congruous with, if not the same at bottom as, those found in the West. But it needs a sympathetic eye and an appreciative mind to discover their real nature. Are we, who are living and working in the most intimate intercourse, taking the care and pains to understand each other's inherited national characteristics, with a view to showing each other more appreciation and setting our students an example in international fellowship? Are we taking an undue pride in our national peculiarities, or are we seeking to supplement and correct them by learning from our colleagues of another nationality and, therefore, of a different cultural

background? How can we expect our students to synthesise the different cultural elements with regard to personal characteristics, if we ourselves fail to show them the way?

Turning now to a less personal sphere, let us note first the notorious Chinese way of conducting business, which is generally called "favouritism." This is certainly the greatest hindrance to business efficiency and calls for a quick remedy. The West excels in efficient business methods and scientific management. But is there not the danger of so emphasising technicality as to neglect totally the human side of the matter? In our modern elaborate organisation, is it not possible to have human personalities hammered in as mere parts of the gigantic machine? Is it always right to sacrifice personal feelings and personal sentiments to the blood-thirsty god of technical rigidity? Is any synthesis possible here that will not be a compromise of these extremes, but will mean their mutual correction? These are problems which deserve the attention of our new department of social welfare and human relations.

Our departments of sociology and ethics will find other problems waiting for their attention. Marriage customs in China are very unsatisfactory, especially to the young people whose welfare is at stake in the matter. Matrimony is made almost entirely a family affair, with little regard for the likes and dislikes of the young people who are most directly concerned. Yet there is a good element

even in this glaring evil. As a rule, the parents who undertake the negotiation for their children spare no pains in trying to make the match a fair and happy one, and their experience, as well as their dispassionate inquiry into the most minute details, often prove to be of great value. In the West, young and inexperienced people are apt to plunge into a life contract while they are under the spell of a blind passion. This is by no means an unmixed good, and may very well be remedied by combining with it some of the Chinese paternalism.

The Chinese virtue of filial piety has now lost much of its former sacredness. But it is a beautiful sentiment, a touching expression of the sense of gratitude, which is very natural and close to the human heart. In practice, however, it has come to mean that each generation becomes in turn a burden to the next. When the process of education is simple and the future easily met, the products of a man's labour may very well be divided between the exacting demands of the past and the daily necessities of the present. But as life becomes more and more complicated and the necessary preparation for it more and more prolonged, it is certainly a mistake to divert a part of the energy from the equipping the young to the satisfying of the old. But filial piety may find a new expression. Parents should save enough during their vigorous days so as not to burden the children in their old age, and the children will express their gratitude to the

parents by investing in their own children what has been invested in them.

These are merely illustrations of one way in which certain customs and institutions of the Chinese people may be conserved and synthesised. Much of the Chinese culture, in society or in the individual, needs sympathetic handling in this kind of spirit. In the Christian colleges contributions can be made to the reinterpretation of Chinese ideas and ideals called for by the present age. I venture to suggest here a few practical measures for our immediate attention in our college work. First, more Chinese scholars, well trained in their own lines and with a good Chinese cultural background, ought to be secured for the college staff, especially for the teaching of the social sciences. They ought so to teach as not only to introduce to the students what is to be found in the West, but also to show what light this will throw on Chinese problems. These men ought to be placed in a position to help to shape the educational policy of the institution and to guide its administration. Secondly, the foreign members of the staff ought to pay more attention to the study and understanding of Chinese ideas and institutions, and not to postpone this important study until it is too late. Their valuable assistance will be misapplied and their good intentions misunderstood, unless they are sure of the general attitude and the cultural background of their students and Chinese colleagues. Thirdly, a more prominent place ought

to be given to the Chinese subjects in the college curriculum and the greatest efforts made to have them as well taught as possible. It would be interesting to investigate how many of our students are now majoring in Chinese literature in the Christian colleges, and, in case a thesis is required for graduation, how many have chosen for their thesis subjects which require research in Chinese literature. Nor is academic study alone sufficient to make our students men and women of really Chinese culture. They must be encouraged to think from the Chinese viewpoint and to act in a manner congenial to the Chinese people. Our college architecture and our museum collections will undoubtedly help to cultivate in our students a taste for Chinese art, but more systematic instruction has to be given before we may expect to see living in our students again the creative power of the Chinese sense of beauty which once brought honour and glory to the Chinese nation. And we search in vain for a course of Chinese fine arts offered by any of our Christian colleges !

Much more could be said on the subject, but what has been said will perhaps be sufficient for a start. The problem has been forced upon us by the needs of the time, not only as an educational necessity but also as a challenge for us to crown the strivings of the ages and to fulfil the aspirations of our predecessors in Christian higher education in this country, and we owe the careful working out of this important problem to the world as well as to the students placed under our care.

VII. EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS AND STUDENT LIFE IN CHINA TO-DAY

T. Z. Koo

The following paragraphs are written from the point of view of a layman and observer. As far as possible, the conditions described are those taken from the senior middle schools and above.

The Number of Schools.—No statistics are yet available for the year 1925. The number of middle schools probably will run well into 1500 or more. The following two tables, taken from the joint report of the National Association for the Advancement of Education and the National Federation of Provincial Educational Associations for the year 1924, will convey some idea of the extent of higher education in China at the present time.

Table I.—Professional Distribution of Colleges

Kinds of Schools.	*Number of Schools.*
University	35
Teachers' College	8
Agricultural College	7
Technical College	13
Commercial College	8
Medical College	7
Law College	33
Total	111

Table II.—Distribution of Colleges by Support

Sources of support.	*Number of Schools.*
National	30
Provincial	48
Private	29
Mission and Foreign	18
Total	125

The growth in the number of schools in the past year is not large and most of it is in the middle school field. The more recent additions in the University field are the North-Eastern University in Moukden, the South-Western University in Yunnanfu, the North-Western University in Sianfu and the Kwangtung University in Canton.

School Finance.—There has been no noticeable improvement in school finance in the past year. It was not an uncommon thing to come across schools where the teachers had not received any salary for three, six, or ten months. In general, higher education is supported from national funds, secondary education from provincial funds and elementary education from county or local funds. But with all sources of income, whether national, provincial or local, drained to the utmost limit by the militarists, Chinese schools have had a difficult time financially in the past year.

Staff Conditions.—Several circumstances have contributed to a lowering of the morale and quality of the teaching staffs.

1. The irregularity of salary payments has turned away many a good man from educational work. Others have resorted to taking on concurrent positions in several schools in the hope that when one school is not able to pay salaries another may. Both are detrimental to the cause of education in China.
2. The increasing use of schools for the propagation of various "isms" such as communism, nationalism, etc., has brought a divisive and distracting influence into educational circles.
3. The predominance of political influence in educational appointments has drawn many office-seekers into educational work who are in no way qualified for it.
4. The truculence of students has also caused many good men whose hearts are in education to turn into other fields of work.

School Discipline.—Discipline in the schools reached its lowest ebb last year. A radical group of students captured the student union and thus dominated the student body, making it almost impossible for the authorities to maintain discipline. Generally speaking, discipline is well

maintained in mission and private schools, while in government institutions it has been notoriously weak. The loss to the student in the character-forming influences of the staff and school as a result of this state of affairs is a serious one.

Trends in Chinese Education.—

I. In the field of secondary education, the following tendencies may be mentioned briefly :

1. To place growing emphasis on the teaching of science. This tendency will receive added impetus when the China Foundation makes the returned Boxer Indemnity from the United States available for the betterment of the teaching of science and for scientific equipment.
2. To give more place in middle schools to vocational training. More than 90 per cent. of the middle school graduates never go on to the university. It is, therefore, felt to be imperative that the middle schools should greatly modify their nature as preparatory schools for colleges and take on more vocational training.
3. To improve the teaching of the national language.
4. To discourage co-education in middle schools.
5. To add to the curriculum of middle schools subjects related to problems of practical living and Chinese social conditions.

6. To tighten up discipline. In some provinces, notably the Three Eastern Provinces, this takes the form of negative suppression of almost every form of extra-curriculum student activity. But the general trend is to encourage students to take part in legitimate activities under the supervision of the staff.

II. In the field of higher education, the following tendencies are noticeable :

1. To emphasise the importance of developing among university students the spirit of scientific research and initiative.
2. To encourage closer co-operation between Chinese colleges and universities. This is evidenced by the formation of the National Federation of Chinese Universities.
3. A disturbing tendency in the field of higher education is towards the increasing use of the universities as propagation centres for "isms" of various kinds. Determined efforts have been put forth by different groups of people to capture existing universities and establish new ones for this purpose.
4. To work for the larger freedom of educational institutions from government interference. It is the belief of most educators that for the proper development of higher education, the colleges and universities

should be given a fairly free hand in their internal administration.

5. To extend university education more and more to women students.
6. To work for a more complete separation of religion from education.

Briefly, the above paragraphs describe in outline some of the more outstanding conditions in the educational world of China to-day. Before passing on to conditions among students, I must pay a tribute to the men and women, who, against severe odds, are carrying forward the educational programme of the nation. In spite of internal warfare, financial uncertainty, political intrigues, student unions, etc, Chinese education has remained national in scope, forward-looking in spirit, and steady in growth. The only misgiving some people have is that this education at the present time is too much the imparting of knowledge and too little the training of character.

Student Life in China

Students have played an important part in the history of China during the past twenty-five years. It will help greatly in our understanding of student life to-day if we first make a study of their *rôle* in history.

As far as students are concerned, the past

twenty-five years can be divided into three periods.

I. *The Revolution Period*, 1900-1911.—The Tung Men Hui, which was mainly instrumental in the downfall of the Manchu dynasty, was almost entirely composed of men and women students. The conviction which animated students in those days was that national salvation lay in the downfall of the Manchu. For that conviction, they plotted, fought, and died. History will probably dismiss the several unsuccessful revolts engineered by the Tung Men Hui students with a brief paragraph or two. But we must not forget that behind each abortive attempt was hidden a wealth of student romance, heroism, and single-hearted devotion and sacrifice.

This period culminated in the Revolution and the establishment of the Republic in 1911. The work of the Tung Men Hui during this period broke the prestige of autocratic government in China. This is no mean achievement. Autocracy had been entrenched in China for more than two thousand years. The students of China destroyed it in ten.

II. *The Patriotic Period*, 1911-1919.—After the establishment of the Republic, the students who took part in the revolution went different ways. Some went abroad for further study in Japan, Europe, and America. Others took office in the new government. Still others went among the people to work for the masses.

With the success of the revolution, the Tung Men Hui naturally became very popular and students joined it in large numbers. But these new adherents lacked the consuming purpose of the pre-revolution group. Their hope was for office after graduation. These students became trouble-makers in their schools and lovers of the life of ease.

Fortunately, the War in Europe came and it startled the student body of China out of its complacency. They began once more to think in national terms and patriotism ran high. Japan's Twenty-One Demands served to crystallise this patriotism into a movement. Towards Japan this movement expressed itself in the boycott, and in the country it watched closely those in high places who were suspected of too much friendship towards Japan.

This period culminated in the May 4th Student Strike. The students were successful in their two immediate objectives, namely, to drive out the three national traitors and to force the government not to sign the Paris Peace Treaty. This second period definitely broke the prestige of the mandarin in China. When such officers of state as the Minister of Communications and the Minister of Foreign Affairs can be man-handled with impunity by students and then cast out of the Government, the day of the mandarin is indeed past.

III. *The Nationalistic Period*, 1919 *to the*

Present Year.—After the May 4th Movement, students rose to a very exalted place in China. The Student Union was organised at this time. After the immediate purpose of the May 4th Movement was achieved, the union was used by students to fight the school authorities and in local politics. They could not return to their studies after all the excitement of May 4th, and as a consequence they became a very turbulent group, defying discipline, refusing hard work and generally discrediting themselves before the country. Feeling in the country turned against them and for a time it seemed as if they were going to lose the confidence of the people.

The turning-point came when the San Min[1] principles of Dr Sun Yat Sen and the work of the Young China Association began to be felt among students. Nationalism became the watchword. Popular slogans were coined to indicate the programme of the nationalists. "Down with Imperialism," "Down with Capitalism," "Revision of the Un-Equal Treaties," etc., were a few of these slogans.

The first expression of this Nationalistic Movement came in 1922, when Students in Shanghai and Peking organised the Anti-Christian Movement. They also extended their activities into

[1] Literally, The Three People's Principles:

1. The Life of the People.
2. The Rights of the People.
3. The Will of the People.

Cf. Abraham Lincoln: "Of the people, for the people, by the people."

the labouring class and stimulated the formation of labour unions, which grew in strength and numbers every day. Then came the May 30th incident, with which we are all familiar.

In this third period, the students have broken the prestige of the foreigner in China.

After such a brief survey of the historical background of student life, we can more intelligently analyse the present-day life of the student in China.

I. *Conditions of Study.*—Recent contacts with school principals and students indicate beyond doubt that the present generation of students falls far short of its predecessors in concentration and scholarship. Students in general can be divided into three classes. One class is composed of those who attend school with no higher purpose than to have a good time. A second class is composed of those who are really serious-minded and who come to school for study. The third class is composed of those who come to school because it is the cheapest way for them to live for a few years. The first and third groups, although in the minority, are generally the trouble-makers. The second group, although in the vast majority, has generally taken the attitude of followers. The result has been that, ever since the May 4th Movement, the student body has been dominated by a small group of radical students belonging to the first and third groups. These have made conditions in school so bad that in many institutions it has not been possible for

students to do any real study during the past few years.

Fortunately, a reaction is beginning to set in. The majority group, which has hitherto followed the radical leaders pretty much, is now beginning to assert itself. In some places they have organised a " Love the School Movement," the purpose of which was to weed out, in co-operation with the faculty, the radical trouble-makers who are making it impossible for students to study. This Movement is already making an appreciable difference in the schools where it has been organised.

II. *Corporate Life Among Students.*—This phase of student life is conspicuous by its absence in the average Chinese school. The problem which many students place in the foreground to-day is the aridity of their life in school. There is little corporate fellowship between faculty and students and between student and student, and there is a dearth of corporate activities in many schools to bring these together. In other words, as one eminent educator said to me, Chinese schools are failing signally in one of the most important functions, that is, to give training to students in corporate thinking and living.

III. *The Bodily and Mental Health of Students.*—It has been most interesting to observe the difference in the physique and mentality of students in different parts of China. Students in Manchuria are sound in body but rather young in

mind. Compared with students in other parts of China, they are, I should say, at least five years behind the students in other centres. In Shantung, students are sturdy in build and deliberate in thinking. In East China, students give one the impression of being most well cared for physically but rather easy-going in thought. They are certainly the most luxurious group of students in the whole of China. In Wuchang, one will probably receive rather a depressing impression from students. Physically they look worn out and mentally they do not seem to care for anything. One reason I heard given for this impression is the fact that Wuchang schools are most inadequately supplied with dormitories. As a consequence, students are forced to seek for board and lodging in the cheapest homes and boarding-houses, much to the detriment of their bodily and mental health. I mention these different conditions to bring out a general deficiency in student life to-day, namely, lack of proper provision for school hygiene and the absence of right incentive to hard, sound thinking among students. They are left pretty much to their own devices in these two respects.

IV. *Extra-Curriculum Activities.*—In addition to the usual extra-curriculum, scientific and literary activities, the Chinese student also engages in the following :

1. The Renaissance Movement work. This

largely takes the form of discussion groups, literary work, and giving addresses.

2. The Student Union. Ever since the May 4th Movement, the union has occupied a good deal of the time of the student outside of his class-room periods.
3. Social service. This has generally taken the form of free school work, citizenship and popular lecture work, patriotic demonstrations, fighting social evils, etc.
4. Political propaganda work. The Kuo Ming Tang group has been particularly successful in projecting their programme among students. In practically every school there is a branch of the Kuo Ming Tang now.

V. *Movements Among Students.*—Many movements are going on among students to-day. A few may be mentioned here :

1. The Nationalist Movement. This movement is centred round the Young China group. Their chief organ is the "Awakened Lion."
2. The Communist Movement. This is a small Movement but it is a well-organised one and the workers in it are extremely hard-working people. Its strength is more in Southern China.
3. The Anti-Religion and Anti-Christian Movement. This Movement started in 1922 in

Shanghai and Peking. It is steadily gathering strength.

4. The Anti-Imperialism League. This movement is largely sponsored by students who are enamoured of the Russian Revolution.

5. The Citizens' Revolution Movement. Under the influence of the Kuo Ming Tang, students have thrown themselves into this movement, which has a Nationalistic and an Anti-Christian Programme :

   (1) The Nationalistic programme is composed of the following articles :

   Recovery of foreign settlements.
   Tariff autonomy.
   No quartering of foreign military and naval armies and police in China.
   Abolition of consular jurisdiction.
   Forbid the establishment of foreign mills.
   Recover control of foreign schools.
   Forbid the propagation of religion by foreigners.
   Forbid foreign vessels in inland navigation.
   Confiscate foreign property not properly secured.
   Anti-Imperialism Week, May 30 to June 5.
   Promote military training and student army.

Federate with working men and farmers.
Educate the illiterates in China.
Emancipation of women.

(2) The Anti-Christian programme consists of the following :

Christmas anti-Christian week.
Close or take over Christian schools.
Urge students to leave Christian schools.
Organise students for vacation anti-Christian work.
Disrupt Christian organisations from within.
Forbid participation of Christian students in national undertakings.

6. *Student Control of Schools Movement.*—A radical group of students is pushing this Movement, which also has two parts in its programme :

(1) Participation in Administration :

Student Unions to have equal representation on faculty.
Student Unions to have control of right of publication in the school.
Students to pass budget and decide its use.
Student voice to be supreme after two vetos by the faculty.

(2) School reforms :

Reduction of school fees.
Drop all subjects unsuited to the spirit of the time.
Add courses related to practical living.
All middle schools to have course on organisation, development and history of Chinese society.
Student union to supervise instruction given by teachers.
More laboratories and libraries.
Improvements in sanitary facilities in schools.
Abolish all unreasonable school regulations.

7. *Love the School Movement.*—The last mentioned two movements represent the radicals among students. The " Love the School Movement " was started by the moderates who wanted to reduce trouble-making in the schools to the minimum, through co-operation between the student union and the faculty.

VI. *What Students are Thinking About.*—Under the stimulus of the New Thought movement, students have shown great intellectual activity. The three men who have had the greatest influence upon student thought to-day are Liang Chi Chao, Hu Suh, and Chen Tu Hsiu.

The following summary will give some idea of the range of topics covered in student thinking :

1. School life and the formation of character : the problem of the cultivation of the personal life.
2. Social intercourse between the sexes : the problem of marriage, free love, etc.
3. Transformation of the family organisation : the problem of relationship to parents, family responsibility, individual homes, etc.
4. Life-work after graduation : the problem of earning a living. There are many jobs which provide work students like to do but to which no rice-bowls are attached. On the other hand, many sinecures with no work have fat rice-bowls attached.
5. National Poverty : the problem of population, its regulation and distribution, birth control, capitalism, industrialism, etc.
6. Christianity and Imperialism : the problem of Christianity and foreign influence.
7. Students and politics : the problem of fighting evil forces in the country, resisting external aggression, militarists, bandits, Kuo Ming Tang principles, communism, nationalism, etc.
8. The personal economic problem.
9. China and the World : the problem of war,

economic impact between nations, nationalism and internationalism.

10. The meaning of life: the problem of religion, materialism, spiritual experience, and culture of the race.

In addition to the above, Christian students are thinking also on the following subjects:

1. The Christian school: the problem of its future, registration, control and support.
2. The Anti-Christian Movement: the problem of attitude to the movement and how to meet its attacks.
3. Contribution of Christian students to China: the problem of discovering that contribution and the problem of how to render it.
4. Christian students and patriotic movements: attitude and participation.
5. Indigenous Christianity: the problem of the Church, missions, missionaries, theology, etc.
6. Christian living in the school: the problem of living a Christian life among fellow students.

VII. *Attitude of Students to Religion and Christianity.*—The vast majority of students are indifferent to religion. They can see no connection between life in school and religion. Others are frankly atheists. They do not believe in the

spiritual basis of life. Many others take what is termed to-day in China "the scientific attitude of mind" and maintain an attitude of rational doubt towards religion. On the whole, students to-day consider religion as something for the uneducated mass whose minds need the supernatural stimulus. Only a very small number of students have any faith in religion to-day.

This, however, must not be interpreted to mean that Chinese students, being irreligious, are also immoral. Compared with students in other countries, there is much less immorality among students in China. The centuries of moral training of the Chinese are in their favour in this respect.

When we come to study the attitude of students toward Christianity, we shall find three kinds of reactions. First those who are nationalistic in outlook oppose Christianity because of its foreign connections. Second, those who are rationalistic in outlook object to the dogmatic assumptions of the Christian religion. Third, those who are atheists by conviction naturally have no use for Christianity.

In addition to these three more or less reasoned attitudes, I must add two other general attitudes shown by a very large number of students to-day. The first is the attitude of deadening indifference shown by both Christian and non-Christian students towards Christianity. The second, which is even more painful to observe, is the attitude of utter contempt which is being increasingly shown

towards Christianity and Christians. That we, who have given all we have for the cause of Christ, should have, by our work and life, brought contempt and rebuke upon His name instead of glory is indeed a sobering experience to have.

Such, in brief, we find our students to-day. The future of China is wrapped up in them. There is much in the situation to give us concern. Mistakes they have made many a time; excesses, too. Yet we are not downcast, because the Chinese students have never yet failed to rise to the call of the country. In the past twenty-five years they have shown true in every national crisis and on that we must rest our case.

VIII.—THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF STUDENTS IN CHRISTIAN COLLEGES

T. Z. Koo, B.A.

National Committee, Y.M.C.A.

In my thinking the subject falls into three sections.

I. The first section deals with the present spiritual condition as I find it in Christian schools.

II. The second section deals with the question, Why is this present condition? I answer the question from (1) what the students say, and (2) what I have seen for myself.

III. The third section deals with the general subject, What is to be done?

I. I shall sum up the present conditions in matters of spiritual life under six heads. In doing so, I am merely indicating some of the observations that have come to me as I move among students.

1. The first impression is predominantly one of indifference to spiritual things. This indifference is to be observed not only among non-Christians but also among Christian students.

2. The second condition, I believe, is one of frank scepticism. To many students life has no spiritual basis. You will be surprised to find in

that group many Christian as well as non-Christian students.

3. A third condition is expressed by those students who either openly or covertly oppose Christianity.

4. Another condition is the lack of interest in and concern for the spiritual welfare of students on the part of the staff.

5. One of the most painful conditions I have come across in Christian colleges at the present time is an atmosphere of very great contempt for Christianity and Christians on the part of many students. I did not feel this five or six years ago. I say this is a painful experience because we, who have given our all to the work of God, instead of bringing glory to the name of God by our work have somehow brought contempt, reproach and hatred to His name. It is a very sobering experience indeed to find this condition.

6. Lastly, we also find a small band of students who are genuinely concerned about their spiritual growth. When I am visiting a college it is always a real privilege to me to have a few students who come to me in a personal way and talk over their spiritual problems. I meet in every college a few of these, who are seeking for themselves the spiritual meaning of life.

These, briefly stated, are a few conditions which are fairly common among the Christian colleges.

II. Why do these conditions exist ? In Christian colleges you would expect that there would

be a great deal of concern for spirituality, and yet the spiritual tone is rather low. Why is this? I will answer this question first from the point of view of what students say. I will not vouch for the logic or reasoning of their answers. I am simply repeating what has been told me.

A. *Reasons Stated by Students:*

1. They say they can see no discernible difference between the life of a Christian student and the life of a non-Christian, so why need one worry about spiritual welfare and Christianity?

2. Among the students of Christian colleges there are those who are termed by their fellow students "rice-Christians." These students are subsidised by the school. In one institution they are known as "$6.00 Christians." This is not conducive to real spiritual welfare.

3. Another reason for antagonism to spiritual things is the extremely poor religious services in some Christian colleges. In one school the students say that the preachers who conduct the service often praise foreign culture and speak ill of Chinese culture. You can see the working of the student mind there.

4. There is very poor instruction in religion, although I suppose the instruction given now in religion must be very much better than that in my day. Religion poorly taught will never command the respect of students.

5. There is too much compulsion in religion. We know that the Chinese government has not a suffi-

cient number of schools to take care of all its children, and so non-Christian Chinese are forced to come to Christian schools. They say we are taking a mean advantage of the present situation when we compel students to take religious instruction.

6. The foreign nature of Christianity in our Christian colleges is another obstacle. In our colleges the administration and the curriculum are foreign. In matters of religion it is even more so and religion goes much deeper than administration.

7. Denominational differences are a distinct hindrance. Particularly is this so in institutions where you have union work. In one union institution, instead of having one church they had separate denominational services. This is puzzling to students.

8. They say that the members of the staffs of Christian universities and colleges have no real interest in the student *as a man*, except from a professional point of view; that there is no real personal interest in the individual student; that missionary teachers come for a definite professional reason, and aside from that they are not interested. This is very serious if it is true. The average business man comes to China not because he is interested in the people, but because he wants to make money. Students say many missionaries are just vendors of religion—outside of professional reasons, the missionary is not interested in individuals. Students very quickly detect an attitude of this kind, if it exists.

9. Members of the faculty do not command the respect of the students spiritually. They may do it for scholarship or executive ability, but when it comes to real spiritual life, very few members of the faculty command the respect of students.

10. Faculty members do not co-operate in religious work.

11. There is a suppression of student initiative. Everything is done by system. A student cannot express his personal beliefs.

I have just gone over some reasons given by students. Now I shall give you a few observations of my own on the reason of the present spiritual condition in our colleges.

B. *My Personal Observations :*

1. There is a group of students in our Christian schools whose minds are closed, as far as any approach of religion is concerned, *before they come.* We have in Chinese history a story of two men who took a vow. One said that if he did a certain thing heaven would punish him and fire would consume his body. The other man also vowed that if he did the same thing heaven would punish him, and he would be bitten to death. While making this vow the second man was using his foot to write in the sand the word "No." Many come into Christian schools with that vow made, to themselves or to their parents. They come for education only and they will not touch Christianity. Such a group acts as a damper on the spiritual life of the school.

2. We are, in our Christian work, dealing in terms which are quite unintelligible to the minds of students. Let us try to fathom for ourselves the content of the Christian terms we use to-day, "fellowship of the Holy Spirit," "love of God," "the living Christ," etc. What do they mean to the average student? I do not know what they mean to his mind, but I do know that they mean something quite different from the meaning in your mind. In speaking to students we are hard put to it to find terms to convey Christian truth in such a way as to link it up with actual life experiences of young men in college. You are up against a difficult problem when you try to put Christian experience in terms intelligible to students. This is another reason for so much lack of spirituality to-day in China.

3. In our Christian colleges we not only have the one and only God, Father of mankind, but we have set up many little gods. We have a god of efficiency. Some set up a god of pure science. Others worship credits. That has led to a difficult situation in our Christian colleges. The students go into one class and an instructor tries to tell them about God. They go into another class and there see knowledge leading to something else, perhaps to doubt. That, I think, is one reason that accounts for the difficulty of students in maintaining balance in their spiritual life.

4. Students to-day yearn for help in the cultivation of their personal spiritual life *as indi-*

viduals, and I am afraid very little help is being given them there.

5. This reason came into my mind after I visited India. Christianity in China, especially after the Revolution, was closely identified with nationalism. "If a man desires to be a good citizen, he ought to be a Christian, because Christianity will save the nation." That was a very popular attitude. But it is now changed, and to-day there is coming to be a national bias against Christianity. You will find that bias growing stronger day by day.

6. I have observed the staffs of many Christian colleges, and I find very little spirit of real partnership between missionary and Chinese workers in our institutions. There is also very little sense of proprietorship on the part of the Chinese workers on the staff. There is too much of an attitude of employer and employee. The relation of servants is never conducive to spiritual growth, it develops a feeling of antagonism against Christianity. It makes Christianity foreign.

7. There are few staff members in our Christian colleges who do personal work among students. In colleges with twenty, fifty or a hundred staff members you can count on the fingers of one hand those who are really doing personal work among the students.

8. Christianity is still a stranger in China. It has not yet found a home in Chinese thought, culture and experience. It is, therefore, extremely difficult sometimes for us to know how

to proceed. I know that some of us still cannot go out with that certainty and assurance that we need as messengers of God. I have that feeling continually with me. When invitations come to go and speak to students, I shrink from it, not because I am not earnest as a Christian, but because we feel we are dealing here with something that has not become a natural part of our own life. It is difficult to go among students, with their eager minds and their doubting minds, and to try to state what that part of our life is like.

These are a few reasons, which students give and which I have observed, which in a way account for the present spiritual condition in Christian colleges.

III. What is to be done ? I shall try to answer this question in three parts.

First, let me ask what we mean by spiritual life. I do not ask that question because I have found an answer to it. I have not. But it will be very difficult for us to know what to do in this present situation, if we do not define spirituality. It is in that spirit that I raise the question. In our work, we must have some sort of definition for spirituality, which can serve as a criterion for the testing of our work.

A. *Some Misconceptions :*

Let me first state briefly some rather common misconceptions regarding spirituality, and then go on to define it.

1. There is a tendency to confuse religiosity with spirituality. I was reading a letter recently from the principal of a school, stating that " the spiritual condition of my students is extremely low. We hold a prayer-meeting on Wednesday and only two or three come. We conduct a bible study class and only five or six come out of two or three hundred students." Doesn't that convey the impression that spirituality means attending meetings ? Christ has shown us that religiosity is not spirituality. He pointed out to us the Pharisees. They were very punctual in their religious duties, and yet he told us that they were not spiritual. That is a very common mistake that people make when they speak of spiritual life.

2. Again and again in our Christian colleges and middle schools we hear of the issues of required versus voluntary religious work, as if that could be used effectively as the measure or standard of spirituality. I want to urge you not to be led away from the real issue in our colleges. The real issue is not required or voluntary religious work. It is simply that the spiritual work in our colleges is not being done, whether by the voluntary or the required method. Whether religious work should be voluntary or required is a question of method, and is comparatively unimportant when compared with the main issue. Both will fail without zeal, devotion and knowledge behind them.

3. There is another misconception due to the

attempt to draw an antithesis between activities and spirituality. I cannot conceive of activities as being in themselves either spiritual or unspiritual. There is no antithesis between spirituality and activities. As a Y.M.C.A. secretary I have often been told that my work, consisting as it does of many activities, cannot be very spiritual. But when I ask these friends how I can be more spiritual their answer invariably involves more activities. But I do not want to help create the impression that activities in themselves are unspiritual.

4. There is another misconception, that spirituality is only one segment of life. Many students, when you speak of spiritual life, consider it as one phase of their life, as they think of their intellectual life, their physical life, etc. I often wonder what in us has given such a conception to them. Undoubtedly it is there. When spiritual life is put in that way, to me it becomes unreal.

5. There is a habit of thinking that a man is not spiritual if he expresses his spiritual life in ways that are different from mine. That is a very subtle attitude. When I was meeting with a group representing twenty-four countries, there were groups who could not join with the others in a corporate devotional meeting. They say, "We pray and sing differently, and so we prefer to have our own devotional meeting." They cannot see that what is done in different ways may yet express the same spiritual content.

6. We often speak as if spirituality is the end that we are after. We urge a student to pray and study the Bible. When he does that we think we have helped him to achieve spirituality. That is a very mistaken conception. We study the Bible or pray in order to know God. One does not study the Bible or pray to achieve spirituality.

B. *What is Spirituality?*

These suggestions represent only the beginning of a quest after the meaning of spiritual life. I raise them in the hope that we may in our Christian colleges have retreats of the staff just to find out these things—not to talk over the efficiency of our rules, the standards of our curricula, etc., but to spend some time, as a staff, in finding out the deeper meaning of the spiritual purpose for which our institutions exist.

1. Spirituality is not one department of life but the atmosphere of the whole soul, and it ought to permeate the entire personality of man. That is my first thought. I cannot think of one form of activity as less spiritual than another.

2. This spiritual atmosphere comes from two sources. It comes from a supreme faith in the value and preciousness of every person, and from a supreme consciousness of the love and power and nearness of God.

If you study the life of Christ and try to realise what made Jesus spiritual, it is not the fact that He went on the mountain-top to pray or that He

fasted. There are only a few references of that kind in the Bible. If you study His whole life, these two facts stand our very clearly. He had a supreme belief in the value and preciousness of every human being, so much so that He gave His own life on the Cross for that belief. Also, He had daily, minute by minute, a consciousness of the closeness of God to Him. These things are what make a man spiritual.

We cannot succeed in helping other men in their spiritual life, in creating a spiritual atmosphere in our college, until we have reached an understanding or definition of spirituality—not necessarily the one I have given—which may be wrong. But we must reach some definite conclusion and build our programme around it. Otherwise when we speak of spiritual life we really do not know what we are talking about. Let each of us try to find his own answer to the question, and then work out his programme around it.

C. *A Few Suggestions:*

1. Plan to help students in the cultivation of their personal spiritual life, not as a student body but as individuals. There is no question but that students are anxious about the influence of the school life upon them. The students realise their own need of help in the cultivation of their character.

2. I think there is a tendency to add a religious work director to the staffs of our Christian

colleges. In addition to the religious work director, I wish there might also be some person on the staff, perhaps known as a personal problems man, one who would try to help students in their personal problems. Study your own staff. Are there not one or two men to whom students go more naturally than to the others ? If you have such a man, he is your most valuable asset. Give him less teaching work to do, and more time to help the students grow spiritually. Also there is need to give opportunities to men from outside to come in and meet with your students. Chinese students do not so readily go to their own teachers with personal problems. They will often open up their troubles to an outside man more readily than to a member of the staff.

3. In our schools, especially to the thinking students, we must by all means preach more Christianity and less denominationalism.

4. If you must err, at least err on the side of encouraging student initiative. Students say the faculty suppresses student initiative. There are things to be said on both sides. Especially in colleges, by all means err on the side of student initiative. Let them have the use of their own faculties, and help them to develop their spiritual life. Do it in a spirit of experimentation. In a regular Church service, bound by rules, you are not at liberty to vary or change, but in dealing with voluntary groups you can experiment. And so I urge you to err, if you must, on the side of encouraging student initiative.

5. Try co-ordination of your religious programmes in your school with your fundamental conception of spirituality. My plea for co-ordination is not in the realm of administration. It is rather that, as a staff, you will think through your fundamental conception of spirituality and then build your programme around it. In my definition of spirituality, I emphasised two ideas. I would try to build every part of my programme so that they would all lead to those two central ideas. Co-ordination on that line is what I urge.

6. Watch carefully every word and every act of yourself as a staff member of your college. To-day, more than ever, sharp eyes are being turned upon you. They are scrutinising you every moment and they will use the material they get, if you are unfortunate enough to permit them to see it, for anti-Christian purposes. We must watch ourselves as to what we say and do as Christian men and women.

7. Students never feel at home with professors if outside the classroom you still seek to instruct the student rather than to quest with the student for truth. Even if you know you have arrived at a particular piece of truth, do not adopt an attitude of trying to instruct the student. Still seek it with him, because in the school, as I see it to-day with my own background as a student, whether you get that man to become a Christian or not is not as important as to plant in the mind of the student the habit to seek after truth. He can only acquire that habit if you seek after

truth with him. If you try to instruct him it will never come. Do not be too anxious for baptism or conversion, but be quite anxious that you have planted in his heart the desire to seek after the truth.

8. My last point is almost a truism. Our only hope of succeeding in helping the spiritual life of other people is through living a spiritual life ourselves. A student soon finds out whether you are really devoted to Christ or whether you only believe in Him. When we are devoted to Christ we live the Christ life, and the student will see that. If we do not live the Christ life the student will also see that, and then we shall have lost our influence over the spiritual life of that man.

IX. INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP TRAINING

T. C. Chao, M.A.

Dean of Arts, Soochow University

Education and leadership have always gone together, not only in philosophical theory, but in social practice. Whenever there appears any considerable group of leaders who rise to positions of importance without having to go through a rigid process of education, they do not necessarily disparage education as such, but they reveal instead a stage of social development that does not need expert leadership on account of the lack of social differentiation and specialisation. In modern times, however, when all forms of activity have to be carried on under scientific and specially-trained leadership, those who blaze the trail in social and industrial, literary and religious, ethical and political life, those who really discover truths and see visions, those who create new values and new situations, are men and women of thorough education. The concept of leadership, when analysed, gives us, as its primary constituent elements, trained intellect and creative personality. Without these two elements, no one is qualified to become a leader.

There was a time when Christian colleges laid

chief emphasis on the training of leaders. There was once a time, under different circumstances, when Christian educators laid greater stress on the development of the Christian community, so that when leaders did come out of the college, they might have a large number of people to lead. But as we face the present situation and consider the purpose of our colleges, we cannot but feel that both leadership and the Christian community must quickly be built up together, as they are mutually dependent. The Christian college must carry the task of educating leaders. While it stands for certain educational principles common to all institutions of higher learning—for unhandicapped scientific inquiry, freedom for academic theorising and experimentation, and the philosophical aloofness needed to secure the right perspective of things and affairs—the Christian college stands also for a type of thought and life still special to itself, which it seeks to realise first in the life of the community and then in the life of the nation. This type of thought and life must be clearly stated and expressed by men and women who are able to do so, because without such statement or expression no deep impress can be made on the nation, and because without such impress the work of building the Kingdom will necessarily fail. Hence the need of intellectual leadership for the Christian movement in China, of which Christian education is an integral part.

There are to-day three urgent demands on the

Christian colleges, as there have always been, for strong and thorough intellectual leadership. In the first place, the emphasis on a high standard of scholarship and on quality of work rather than on quantity implies that within the college walls there must be efficient intellectual leadership on the part of the professors and instructors, and in some cases also on the part of the leading students. While it is true that the aims of Christian education are more or less practical, it cannot be denied that its justification lies, in no small degree, in the theoretical, speculative and abstract scientific interests of those who carry on the work of education. If in any college, opened in the name of Christ, we find only classroom work, administrative routine, committee meetings, building projects, athletic activities, social amusements, without at least an equal emphasis placed upon, or an equal interest shown in, intellectual fellowship and theoretical problems, we may question whether or not that institution has any right to be called an institution of higher learning. The students of to-day have many wrong ideas, but in the matter of intellectual efficiency on the part of their teachers they are very well qualified to judge. Gather the opinion of the best students of the college, and we have strictly just judgments passed on the professors and instructors under whom they study. Such opinions are often the acid test of the intellectual leadership within the college, and yet they are at times ignored and the intellectual atmosphere of the institution is

allowed to become thick with the thinking of dull mental mechanisms. Students are supposed to know very little. They have, indeed, no deep knowledge of things, but they have a keen judgment of the ability of their teachers. They will gather around efficient, alert intellectual leaders as iron is attracted to magnets. The day will soon come when the youths of the land will enter a school without much questioning as to whether it is a Christian or a non-Christian school, a private or a government institution, drawn solely by educators who offer genuine intellectual food.

In the second place, the Christian college is facing a new intellectual situation which requires a scholarly contact between Christian and non-Christian educators, and which demands the participation of Christian educators in many of the national movements. The Renaissance has discovered for the nation the new individual, who has new aspirations for self-realisation, through a systematisation of the learning of the past, the organisation of the conditions of human existence in the present, and the scientific actualisation of the hopes for the future. The new individual must have a new nation, and hence the Renaissance and the patriotic movements have merged into each other, on the one hand to resist foreign, imperialistic encroachments on Chinese territory and resources, sovereign rights and culture, and on the other hand to build up the new China from within rather than from with-

out, in spite of foreign imperialistic propaganda working insidiously among the Chinese youths. The true leaders of such movements deeply realise that success depends upon intellectual guidance. So while "in the writings of the younger generation, there is a great deal of cheap iconoclasm and blind faddism . . . the saner and more far-sighted leaders are trying to inculcate into the people what they regard as the only safeguard against these dangers, namely, the historical and evolutionary point of view and a truly scientific attitude of life."[1] This, as we Christian educators see, is not enough, because, without a transcendent faith in God, we believe the historical and scientific spirit will not lead us very far in our national movements. We need intellectual leadership that is coupled with religious aspirations, and precisely here the Christian college must make its contribution.

This leads us to the third consideration, namely, the demand of the Christian movement as a whole for thorough Christian intellectual leadership. The Christian Church and the Christian college are the two great forces of the Christian religion that reveal its true nature and express its true life. Whereas the Church must, by its institutionalised forms and constituted authorities, conserve the religious values of life, the college, by virtue of its tasks of scientific experimentation and its academic freedom in the field of the

[1] *Bulletins on Chinese Education*, On the Chinese Renaissance, by Hu Shih, p. 35.

humanities, counter-balances the conservative and crystallising influence of the Church, and thus, by freely discovering new values and quietly and gradually replacing old values, creates at the same time a living, growing equilibrium for the Christian religion. The Church gives support to the educational institutions, so that in matters of theory the scholars may be pre-eminently qualified to judge without being restrained, while on the other hand the educational institutions help the Church to adapt itself to new and unfamiliar environments. This, however, does not exhaust the relationship between the two organisations. In the history of the Christian movement, prophets have often been men of high intellectual attainment. As the growing complexities of life in modern times demand intellectual leadership in all spheres of activity, the prophets of the Christian movement will have to be men of great intellectual acumen and thorough education. Hence, " the foremost leaders of the Church, its ministers, writers, educators, physicians and statesmen, must come from or pass through the colleges." (*Christian Education in China*, p. 327.)

Having briefly stated the demands for intellectual leadership made upon the Christian college by the growth of the educational work itself, by the rising of the new China, and by the necessities of the Christian movement, let us mention in passing the terrible need to-day for men to show the way to transcend the difficulties, short-sightedness and wrong thinking of

the times. "Leadership" means nothing else than that some prophets arise who can point the way out of the present unsatisfactory conditions of thought and life to a more satisfactory future. Leadership always implies a future for ourselves, who must transcend our own conditions, and for our race and nation, which, too, must outgrow the old limitations. When we say that we need leaders of new ideas, we express a desire for the coming of prophets who know the past so thoroughly that they will not be bound by it, and who hold a faith in the future so strongly that they will reveal sufficient idealism to lead us toward the realisation of cherished ideals.

But intellectual leadership must have an atmosphere in which to grow. In former times, great intellectual leaders of men heard their call in the quiet of the night, behind the dumb sheep and cattle in the wilderness, among the rocks and trees of the mountains, or in the glory of the worship in the temple. They did not have schools to which to go. They prepared themselves in the best way they knew, going forth to declare their convictions and to achieve in the power of their faith. They were able to meet their simple social situations and political crises. But to-day men and women hear calls to intellectual and moral leadership within the college walls, at times also in the stillness of the night, often behind the desk, in the laboratory, in the library, in voluntary Christian services, and among the trees of the college campus. Are there not

things in the college that suggest the voice of the Divine Reason, calling men and women to the leadership of thought and ideas, which are the foundation of creative human life ? If there are not in the college the sheep and cattle, the rocks and trees of the wilderness to suggest the solitude that thoughtful souls resort to when they face the difficult problems of life, are there not kindred spirits that stimulate each other and, through mental and spiritual interpretation, arouse each other to literary, philosophical, scientific and religious discoveries ? Are there not elements, besides social activities and classroom recitations, credit systems and merit points, impersonal regulations and pragmatic calculations, that make for large intellectual aspirations and achievements ? The answer is in the affirmative. If so, the intellectual atmosphere in the college must be maintained at all cost !

Indeed, the college curriculum is of primary importance, although even when it is thoroughly organised it is insufficient to create the needed intellectual atmosphere. Entire dependence on the curriculum may make education appear to students to consist of mere mechanical or even commercial devices to wrest so much work out of them before they can have the pleasure of college graduation. Other things must be added to it either as a modification or as a supplement. Let us ask ourselves a few serious questions. First, according to some college curricula, students are required to complete in the neighbourhood of

160 credit hours of work within four years before graduation. Do we really mean that for each one hour period of recitation the student is to do two solid hours of preparation? If a freshman or a sophomore is to carry 20 or 21 hours per week, with a moderate laboratory schedule, this involves, including both recitation and preparation, sixty-three to seventy hours per week of serious work, all intellectual work, averaging eleven to twelve hours a day for six days of the week. Sometimes juniors work under similar sweat-shop conditions. Why should there be the class distinction that gives the privilege of leisure and unhurried intellectual absorption only to the seniors? Are the colleges to-day to make graduates merely or also to train scholars? Again, do we understand that when the student spends two solid hours to prepare one lesson, the professor who takes care of him spends the same amount of time to reveal still other new things to him which his lesson does not contain, so that he may really have intellectual abundance every day? May not students question our wisdom or honesty or both? In all the rigidity of our curriculum do we succeed in generating an intellectual atmosphere?

Then, there is not now the ancient relationship between the master and the disciple. Modern democracy must be built upon impersonal relationships because of the complexities of life, the ease of transportation, the movements of populations, the rebellion against the thought of anybody

being superior to anybody else, the need of large numbers of teachers who are willing to receive small salaries, and the growth of the scientific attitude of disinterestedness. There are good reasons for placing emphasis on work and regulations, laws and functions, rather than on great and reliable personalities, who are too few in number to go round at any given time in the history of mankind, especially in modern times. However, we cannot find a complete separation between personal influence and impersonal learning. And consequently, if the Christian college desires to create a real intellectual environment within its walls, in the midst of which intellectual leaders may grow, it must seek to establish stimulating personal relationships among the faculty and between the faculty and the student body. The institution must at all cost secure a congenial group of intellectuals who are able not only to attract students to the college but also to attract each other into intellectual achievements.

In addition to this, other conditions must be provided for the growth of the intellectual activities of the college. The primary and central task of the college professor is the quest and impartation of knowledge. The most able of the teaching staff should be free from much routine or worry and should be given opportunities for further training, for travel, for recreation, and for separate and independent research. There should be enlargement of library and research facilities on the lines which the college

has decided to follow. There should be constant touch with all the intellectual forces throughout the land, by means of exchange professorships, lecture tours and literary retreats. Under able professorial leadership and enthusiastic student initiative, there should be a broad reading movement among the students, literary clubs, philosophical and scientific societies, public lectures by well-known national and international scholars, and various forms of intellectual competitions. In other words, professors, instructors and students must talk knowledge, dream about knowledge, and hunger and thirst after knowledge, before there can be any atmosphere in which intellectual leadership may be developed and fostered.

Colleges are centres of great national and idealistic movements. These centres are the beacon-lights that guide in the construction and reconstruction of national life. What, let us ask, are the movements in China that have been started by the Christian colleges, for changing the thought and life of the nation? What kind of intellectual leadership has been accorded by society at large to the Christian colleges? What is the social philosophy of the Christian colleges for China? What definite ethical standards do they agree to give to China's young men and women? What political writings that have made or may make a deep impression on the nation? What political theories that may still touch the imagination of the young people of China to-day? The Church, it is believed, must not meddle

with politics, but what justification is there for the Christian colleges not to theorise and publish their political thought and declare their political message? What elegant, strong and indigenous literature have the Christian colleges created that gives opportunity for intellectual leadership? What outstanding Christian scholarship is there now that can attract hundreds and thousands to study Christian books, and particularly the Christian Bible? If the Christian colleges have not succeeded in doing all these things, have they succeeded in their share of building the Christian community in China? If it takes time to reveal visible results, then has the task been undertaken of answering the Renaissance movement and the anti-Christian movement with a counter movement, strong in thought and rich in ideas, fearless in declaration, clear in expression, intensely earnest in hope, frank and honest in criticism, and cheerful in labour and sacrifice? Have the leaders of the Christian colleges participated in the discussions and debates on the philosophy of life, on the nature of science, and on the need of religion? Why have the Christian colleges followed, without even keeping abreast, the thought movements within the country? Why have they followed rather than led?

We realise that we need intellectual leaders who have a deep interest in theoretical thinking, a practical common sense coupled with broad human experience, a deep religious experience, a spiritual earnestness for invisible realities, an

ability to conserve the good, to seize new situations and to create new values, and a capacity for prophetic self-abandonment and consecration to all the higher visions that lead onward to intellectual achievements. We also realise that we need a nation-wide Christian intellectual movement or Christian Renaissance which should take up the work of calling forth the indigenous Church, the re-interpretation of the Christian faith, the moulding of Christian education to meet China's intellectual and spiritual needs, the publication of Christian social, political and international ideas, the development of Christian scholarship, the building up of an indigenous Christian literature, and the realisation of the Christian philosophy of life in the community. In short, we must have leaders and a movement for which the initiative and impetus must be found in the Christian college. Things must move quickly. There must be a group of Christian educators, particularly Chinese men and women, who are willing and bold enough to be prophets, to go out to the younger generation to lead when opportunity arises, to think and to write, and to suffer for what they believe to be true and right. Thus they will be able to start, mould and guide public opinion. And there must be Christian institutions that are fearless enough to retain them, to support daily newspapers, magazines and tracts, and even to be ready to throw open the doors of the school for public intellectual meetings.

Now I have announced my subject as "Intellectual Leadership and Citizenship Training." But so far, as you will see, no clear distinction has been made between intellectual and moral leadership and nothing has been said about citizenship training. This apparent confusion is, however, not without reason. In the first place, it is difficult to conceive abstract intellectual leadership, unconnected with leadership in moral, religious, social and political activities. And in the second place, it is meaningless to separate intellectual development and citizenship training in higher education. In my humble opinion no citizenship training in the college can exist without intimate relationship to intellectual improvement. True, it is not necessary for a good citizen to be thoroughly acquainted with any one of the sciences, any system of philosophy, or any class of literature. But it is also true that the training of the mind is necessary for citizenship. The path of education marked out by the college is always from intellectual training to efficient and conscientious citizenship, from a development of the pure reason to the unfolding of the practical reason.

Because of the limitations of this paper, let me give a few brief reasons for connecting intellectual cultivation with citizenship training.

(1) The college teaches men and women to live according to reason, even in the face of irrational disturbances and turmoil. Such a life of reason

is by no means easy to live and it is not untrue to say that many who are college professors have not thought and lived reasonably, having manifested a terrible failure in their own education. Yet the conscious forward look of man in his own evolution has clearly taught that the time has come when man, desiring to be true to himself and to his race, must reason before he acts and not rationalise after the act is performed. Mankind has a sufficiently long past to justify this attempt to reason before action.

(2) College education emphasises the importance of the historical and evolutionary point of view and the objective, scientific attitude toward life. With the right historical perspective and in the objective, scientific spirit, the good man will determine for himself the relative values of the contentions between individualism and collectivism. He will find the meaning of citizenship in the nature of things.

(3) This attitude, inculcated by scientific training and through enthusiastic personal contact with the intellectual teacher who gives sympathetic guidance, will develop the law-abiding spirit so needed among the young people of China. The starry heavens above will always suggest the inviolable moral law within the human breast.

(4) In addition to this, the college affords the opportunity for the acquisition of a knowledge of the cultural heritage of the race and also the cultivation of a deep appreciation of the social

values discovered in the long experience of the race. Through such appreciation one is able to come in contact with actual social conditions with an interpretation and with a desire to improve them. If in the Christian college the Chinese student gets a thorough knowledge of his own culture and a deep respect for it, then there is not only no danger of denationalisation in the midst of thoroughly Western learning, but also no fear of lack of content for true patriotism on the part of students.

(5) Genuine love of freedom is as important as intelligent obedience to law. But as there can be no real freedom without clearcut, definite and noble personal and social ideals, the inculcation of such ideals should form an important part in the training for citizenship. Courses in general ethics and in the Christian and scientific philosophy of life are, therefore, of paramount importance. A true citizen must be able to give himself intelligent guidance by holding up before his own eyes the ideals that he has willingly and understandingly accepted. He will freely accept responsibilities, freely surrender to or sacrifice for the social good, and freely enjoy the rights and privileges of a true man.

(6) The intellectual life is thus, as commonly understood, merely onesided, having to do with purely theoretical problems, not at all related to the practical concerns of life. True intellectual life is keen analytical activity, experimental adventure and creative imagination, coupled with

unswerving devotion to truth, to the dictates of reason, and to the unity of life. Therefore, he who is thoroughly trained will have the spirit of initiative, adventure and original thought and action. He will be able to adapt himself to various thought situations and social environments.

(7) The true citizen must not only know, but also have the habit of realising his knowledge in conduct, the principle of doing right by the employment only of right means. It is utterly useless to talk about ends, however complete, noble and beautiful, without at the same time placing a strong and insistent emphasis on the right means for the realisation of such ends. The human individual as well as the social organism is in a process of growth, it is going forward in the direction of the goal, and it is on that account in a process of actively employing means. The whole life process is injured if education leaves out this consideration, the persistent and insistent demand for the use of right means for right ends. Throughout the history of thought there has been clearer thinking on ends than on means; though we know that the means themselves are always ends already realised. Throughout the history of conduct there has probably been more confusion, trouble, pain, bloodshed and death caused by the employment of wrong means for right ends than by the realisation of wrong ends.

After all has been said, the intellectual ideals

cannot be said to be learned or effective if they are not expressed in the actual conduct of the student. Consequently the Christian college must provide for conditions under which the student can live the life of the true citizen before he actually enters into society at large. The Christian college can be developed into a true community by the combination of the family relationship with the governmental organisation; there can exist between the faculty and the student body the intimate personal relationship of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, with intimate knowledge of each other's problems, and at the same time both parties can live under the same law, under the same regulations governing conduct and activities. It also seems that only by such a combination can there be faculty and student self-government, through which the ideals of citizenship find adequate practical expression.

(8) The Christian college, on account of the emphasis on the intellectual life, presents the religious message to the student also through the intellectual channel. If in this intellectual atmosphere one finds deep religious meaning, as the religious life is beautifully lived by the professors and instructors in his presence, he is compelled to consider his relationships not merely to his fellow men but to the unseen spiritual universe of which he is a part. He must transfer the control of himself to the hands of the all-loving Father. When this is done, the Christian college may consider that its task has been truly success-

ful, because it has educated into true citizenship men who will not confuse issues on account of personal and selfish interests, and who have become not only true patriots but also international persons.

X. THE NEEDS OF THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN CHINA

David Z. T. Yui, Litt.D.

One of the real dangers to the growth of any organisation or movement is without doubt a sense of self-sufficiency or a conviction that it has no more needs to be met. The Christian Movement in China is much alive and keenly conscious of its shortcomings and imperfections, and is eagerly desirous of attaining further development and improvement.

Its needs are many and varied in character. We shall confine ourselves to two or three which should, in our judgment, receive special attention.

We shall mention first the need for *More Profound Chinese Scholarship*. Does not Christianity to date remain largely as something introduced from outside, and show very little growth from within? Was not Buddhism introduced from India? Why do not our people look upon it still as a foreign religion? Why do they have such respect and love for it? Really, it does not matter much whence Buddhism or Christianity came. It is of fundamental importance that, having been introduced into China, they should start to grow from the best nutriment they can get from Chinese soil.

Our study of the growth of Buddhism in China leads us to the important fact that those who had to do with the introduction of this religion were profound Chinese scholars. They had an intimate knowledge of China's ancient religion, philosophy, ethics, history, literature, customs and manners, and rich experience in Chinese life on the one hand; and, on the other hand, they were thoroughly versed in the Buddhistic religion. Moreover, as they went on with their studies, translations, research and experience, they were rewarded with new and fuller revelations by which Buddhism became almost a new religion in China. Its teachings brought a distinct contribution into the religious thought of the Chinese people and became thoroughly blended with the highest and best in China's own heritage.

From this vantage ground, do we not see clearly the reason why Christianity is still looked upon and even attacked as a foreign religion? One fundamental reason is that our missionary friends who have the responsibility of introducing Christianity to China, as well as the Chinese who help in this effort, are both seriously lacking in profound Chinese scholarship. Hence, figuratively speaking, Christianity in China up to the present has been feeding on bread and butter and not on rice. In appearance, it is dressed in foreign and not in Chinese costume. Is this not true?

What do we know of the Chinese scholarship of our *missionary friends*? There was a small

number of good Chinese scholars among the older missionaries, who in their days did excellent work. With all respect, even their Chinese scholarship was by no means profound nor could it compare favourably with that of the monks from India. How many missionary sinologues do we find to-day? We are not critical in raising this question. We fully realise the difficulties, handicaps and demands confronting missionaries and we sincerely admire their courage and perseverance. We wish, however, to point out that Christianity might occupy a different position in the minds and hearts of the Chinese people from what it does now had we a few more profound Chinese scholars among our missionary friends, who, because of their thorough grounding in Chinese culture, philosophy, ethics, history, etc., could interpret Christianity in more intelligent and elegant Chinese language, spoken and written, and with a richer blending of Chinese and Western civilisation as both foreground and background.

How many profound Chinese scholars have we among the *Chinese Christian leaders*? Thank God, we can perhaps say that we have a few to-day! But they are altogether too few. How justifiable is the criticism that many Chinese Christian leaders have a much better Western education than Chinese education, and hence they can express themselves with greater facility and effectiveness in some foreign language than in Chinese? Is it not true that they know more of the history, philosophy, ethics, culture, geo-

graphy, etc., of the West than of those of their own race? Or is this gross exaggeration? If not, what special contribution to the understanding of Christianity from the Chinese standpoint do these "westernised" Chinese Christian leaders have to offer? As to the mass of Chinese Christians, they are mostly uneducated, and we cannot rightly expect too much of them.

In order to clarify the point before us, let us suppose that some Chinese missionaries were to try to introduce Confucianism into Great Britain or America. What do you think the result would be, if these missionaries, in addition to a smattering of "pidgin" English, were to do their work mostly in Chinese and to depend very largely upon interpreters, and if the leaders among the British or American converts were much better educated in Chinese civilisation than in their own? What would be your opinion of this Confucian movement even if we were able to produce numerous arguments to justify our position?

If the Christian Movement in China is to go forward and to enter more fully into the life of the Chinese people, we cannot exaggerate the importance of requiring from both our missionary friends and Chinese Christian leaders a more profound Chinese scholarship. Some definite plan should be evolved, either independently or within some existing institutions, whereby the missionaries who have special aptitudes for languages and cultural subjects will have a real oppor-

tunity of achieving a profound Chinese scholarship. For the development of Chinese Christian leadership, our Christian educational institutions, from primary school to college or university, should not fail to place greater emphasis on Chinese studies than on anything else. We must avoid the danger of educating to denationalise. Better grades of teachers and professors of Chinese should be called; more Chinese subjects should be offered in the curriculum and more subjects should be taught in the Chinese language. When we have a good number of missionary friends and Chinese Christian leaders of profound Chinese scholarship, the progress of the Christian Movement in China will be greatly accelerated and will also be given a depth in Chinese thought, life and experience which may mark the beginning of some real contribution from Christianity to China and likewise from China to Christianity.

Next, we shall speak of the need of *Higher Statesmanship*. By the Christian Movement in China, we are referring, we presume, to all Christian agencies, such as missions, churches, schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, associations, societies, unions, leagues, clubs, etc., now at work in this land. If so, are we truly a Movement? What is a Movement? It is, according to Webster's Dictionary, a more or less connected series of acts and events tending towards some more or less definite end. Is it not clear that if a Movement wishes to succeed at all it must have the following requisites: definite objective;

thorough organisation; convincing programme; adequate finance; sufficient mobility; team spirit and work; and, above all, the highest type of statesmanship. It is this statesmanship of which the Christian Movement in China is in sore need. With it, the Christian Movement in China can more readily approximate to the position of a movement.

In the Christian Movement in China, we already have much excellent leadership for special lines of service, for sectional or departmental responsibilities, and for denominational administration. Each is large-hearted, constructive, thorough and consecrated in his own way, and our Movement cannot go on without them. Many of the leaders, however, are sadly lacking in the proper perspective and vision of the Christian Movement as a whole. The more each becomes attached to his own special job the more he loses in the movement-consciousness. He sees everything through his own spectacles. He is apt to become indifferent to Christian work outside his own sphere; jealous of those making greater success in the same field; intolerant of or even hostile to those who differ from him in convictions or methods of work; obstructive to the proper growth and development of the Movement, and this with the best of intentions. If a Movement is dominated by this type of leadership, what hope is there for it to succeed?

By higher statesmanship, we mean a type of leadership which thoroughly understands what the movement is, with all its implications and

complications. It takes a long view of things—not only where and how a Movement is to start but also where and how it will develop and culminate. It views the situation also broadly, so as to understand and appreciate all different and differing elements and their rightful and useful places in the whole Movement, to effect harmony among them and to heighten their effectiveness. It shows much depth in its views by constantly and painstakingly acquainting itself with the deep things in life, and introducing special emphases required at each stage of development. It also lifts its gaze upon God on high, always seeking to know and earnestly endeavourng to do His will.

Under this higher statesmanship, there can be no theological disputes, for it will stimulate all Christian believers to tell one another of their beliefs and experiences for the purpose of mutual edification. It will recognise denominational differences, not as reasons for separation, but as means of enriching our fellowship with God and with one another. The existence of many nations and races, great and small, is, according to its belief, not intended for exploitation and aggrandisement but for mutual assistance and betterment. This Christian statesmanship will not hesitate to recognise and receive into its own faith and experience the best contributions from other religions and civilisations which may even be hostile in their attitude towards Christianity, and will not brand them with such words as "heathen" or "pagan."

Is not this type of higher statesmanship greatly needed by the Christian Movement in China at this hour? Under this leadership, the Christian forces in China can be better unified and consolidated into one Movement; our differences in convictions, organisation, denominations, methods and experiences will be the cause not of regret, strife and jealousy but of mutual enlightenment and enrichment; proper emphases in policy and programme will be introduced as we enter into each stage of development; and the best in the Chinese civilisation and the highest in Christianity will be brought together and commingled for the complete fulfilment of God's purpose for mankind. If we already have some statesmanship of this order, let us commend it to our Father in Heaven for further growth in wisdom and strength, and do our best to co-operate with it and to increase its amount. If we do not have it, then is it not high time for us to pray to God for the development of this higher statesmanship and to work hard and unsparingly until it finally appears?

Last, we shall most earnestly appeal for *Greater Spirituality* in the Christian Movement in China. Are the missions, Churches, schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, associations, unions, leagues, clubs, etc., within this Christian Movement much alive in the Spirit? Are they always truly seeking to know and do God's will in all their undertakings? Are the individual members of the Movement, especially the Christian leaders,

pure in heart, so that they can see God face to face? Can the non-Christians see God in them? Is their one sole and single purpose to enable China to find Christ, to partake of His life, and to do His will? May we pause a moment and apply these questions to ourselves and to the institutions to which we belong? How do we measure up to this test?

Oftentimes we attribute the success of Buddhism in China to its wonderful literature in Chinese, which at best is only a partial truth. To me, it is the deep spirituality, both in knowledge and in experience, expressed in, between and behind the words of that literature, that has produced the result. It is true that we are lacking in good and helpful Christian literature in Chinese, which need should be met adequately as soon as possible. At the same time, we should remember distinctly that mere elegant, classical style will not succeed unless a deep spiritual note runs through each line.

What is the general favourable impression which Christianity has made upon China? To the Chinese mind, Christianity is synonymous with schools, hospitals, asylums, preaching, Church worship, evangelistic campaigns, relief work, etc. We are not using the word "activity" in any disparaging sense at all, except that we wish to point out that it is the activities of Christianity rather than its teachings and spiritual experiences that have arrested the attention of our people and have won their respect. We do not suggest

necessarily any reduction in activities, especially if we take care that they do not overburden or crush us, but we do appeal for putting greater spiritual content into them. In other words, we do plead for the spiritualisation of our activities.

What is our criterion in regard to the so-called Chinese independent Churches ? Speaking plainly, do we not usually centre our thoughts on finance and control ? As long as a Church cannot support itself financially, or receives its support entirely or in part from any mission, it is not independent and can have no control of its own affairs. A Church is given full control immediately upon showing its financial ability. Is this a true or desirable test of the life and capacity of a Church ? Would not Christ use His whip again and overturn our tables, if He were to face such a situation ? Why do we not stress the spiritual life and its sustaining and propagating power to test the standing and capacity of a Church ?

In the present agitation for the abolition of extra-territoriality and the so-called toleration clauses in China, what are some of the oft-repeated questions on the lips and in the writings of not a few of our missionaries ? We shall try to name a few in the order of importance given. Property ! Personal safety of missionaries ! Protection of Chinese converts ! These are, doubtless, important questions which we should not ignore. We must study them and find out proper and adequate provisions. But there is a notable absence of any concern about the spiritual

life of the Christian Movement under the new conditions. Should we not ask whether the abolition of extra-territoriality and of the toleration clauses would offer greater opportunities for the spiritual development of the Christian Movement in China or hinder it? How can we best avail ourselves of the new situation to deepen the spirituality of our Movement? Instead, we loudly ask about property, personal safety, protection, etc. Will not these questions at least create wrong impressions on the Chinese, both Christians and non-Christians? Would Christ Himself raise them under similar circumstances?

Last year, after the sad event of May 30th, the Christian Movement in China revealed a certain situation which saddened our hearts. We are referring to the fact that for quite some time our respective nationalistic feelings rose so high that they almost completely submerged any spiritual life that was in us and in our Movement. Many missionaries and Chinese Christians were citizens of their respective countries first and stood for their own national interests, right or wrong; and their Christian citizenship took a secondary place. Have we forgotten the charges of the Anti-Christian Movement against organised Christianity as the "fore-runners of Western imperialism," and as "the hounds of foreign capitalism"? We are not admitting that we are; but the attitude of many last year was dangerously near confirming these charges. Cannot we place first things first? Cannot we exemplify in our lives

that we are first and foremost citizens of God's Kingdom, and next, citizens of our respective countries? Can we not live up to our belief that these two types of citizenship do not in any way conflict? Even if they did, should we not sacrifice our national citizenship for the sake of our citizenship in God's kingdom?

We are fully conscious of the very important position which the leaders who are responsible for higher Christian education in China are occupying in the Christian movement. It is in their hands to create, nurture and develop the highest leadership in our Movement. Among other qualities, we should do everything we can to give this leadership a profound Chinese scholarship, to develop a higher statesmanship, and to inculcate a greater spirituality, which are absolutely needed for the extension of God's kingdom in this great land.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
THE EDINBURGH PRESS, 9 AND 11 YOUNG STREET, EDINBURGH.

CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL UNION
DS721.C5152DSER.1927 C001
CHINA TO-DAY THROUGH CHINESE EYES LONDO

3 0311 00060 1521

WITHDRAWN

LB
721
.C515 Chao, T. C., et al.
24 ser.
1927 CHINA TO-DAY THROUGH
CHINESE EYES.

DATE DUE | BORROWER'S NAME

WHEN taking out this book, please write name and date on card and place card in CARD-DROP.

PLEASE see that this book is returned ON TIME: others may be waiting for it.

KINDLY refrain from defacing this book in any way, and also from leaving MARKERS of any kind between the pages.

3 0311 00060 1521